

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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by RICHARD STEELE

EDITED WITH NOTES AND COMMENTARY BY RAE BLANCHARD

The reputation of Sir Richard Steele as a man of letters is secure in his essays and plays, and as promoter and editor of the influential *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, his contribution to English social development is admittedly great. But his achievement in public life is commonly underrated, and one aspect of his journalism, his work as publicist and pamphleteer during the crucial years of the early eighteenth century, all but forgotten. For one reason his pamphlets are difficult of access. Although there were reissues of several at the close of the century, they are now rare in these as well as the earlier forms, and there has been no modern edition. For the first time, here in one volume are gathered together the thirty—or so—pieces constituting his known writings as a pamphleteer. In this collected edition, each one is accompanied by an introductory note outlining the occasion, a separate bibliography describing the various editions and translations, and a statement of the variant readings in the text.

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ELIZABETHAN CHIROMANCY

This paper is in the nature of an addendum to one on physiognomy and metoposcopy which appeared recently, in which metoposcopy was shown to be little more than a simplification of physiognomy.¹ Another pseudo-science which may be regarded as a disinvolved version of physiognomy is chiromancy, the science which interprets the lines in a man's hand to discover his complexion, his disposition, his fortune, and his life.² John ab Indagine considers chiromancy a means of knowing what planets rule in the life of man, without the knowledge or use of astrology,³ although

¹ Carroll Camden, "The Mind's Construction in the Face," *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hardin Craig*, Stanford University, 1941, pp. 208-220.

² Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, London, 1569, fol. 50^v. This work first appeared in 1530, but the following year Agrippa published his *De occulta philosophia* affirming all those occult sciences previously attacked. Cf. Sir George Wharton, *Cheirromantia* (translated from John Rothmann), London, 1652, *Works*, ed. John Gadbury, London, 1683, p. 527; Polydore Vergile, *An Abridgemēt of the Notable Work*, London, 1546, fol. 34^v.

³ John ab Indagine, *The Book of Palmistry and Physiognomy*, seventh edition, London, 1683, sig. G5^v. Don Cameron Allen (*The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, Durham, 1941, p. 56) believes that John (Jean de Hayn, or Johannes von Hagen) introduced the general public to chiromancy. John, along with other chiromantic worthies, achieves immortality in the following lines spoken by Patrico in *The Gipsies Metamorphosed* (Pt. 1, lines 126-131):

Alchindus
And Pharaotes Indus,
John de Indagine,
With all their *paginae*
Treating of palmistry:
And this is all mystery.

later writers emphasize that the findings of no pseudo-science are valid unless they are in accord with astrological considerations. John feels, too, that the knowledge gained by such a study is very useful to man,

For what more profitable thing may be supposed or thought, than when a man in himself, may foresee and know his proper and fatal accidents, and thereby to embrace and follow that which is good, and to avoid and eschew the evils which are imminent unto him for the better understanding and knowledge thereof?⁴

Chiromantic writers, furthermore, find an authoritative religious basis for their science in *Job* 37: 7, *Exodus* 13: 9, and *Proverbs* 3: 16,⁵ each of these passages being sufficiently vague to be in harmony with the ambiguity usually found in pseudo-scientific pronouncements. The passage in *Proverbs*, for example, reads: "Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour." The greatest authority for the science, however, lies in the surprising list of intelligent men who believed in chiromancy, or who wrote on the subject,—such men as Paracelsus, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Abano, Michael Scot, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Becket, Jerome Cardan, among others. Aquinas apparently accepts chiromancy, although he refuses to accept geomancy, as a form of divination. Scot's reputation is open to some speculation, though, when we discover that his "chiromantic experiment" for discovering the sex of an unborn child consists merely of asking the mother to hold out her hand: the right hand indicates a boy, the left a girl. We have evidence, too, that Thomas Becket consulted chiromancers upon occasion, and we know that John of Salisbury twitted him about it.⁶ Indeed, Henry Cornelius Agrippa becomes somewhat subdued when he recalls some of the authorities for this science:

Notwithstandinge it is not needefull for vs to striue againste the Erroure of this Arte with anye other reason then this, to weete that they haue not

⁴ *Ibid.*, "To the Gentle Reader," sig. A3r.

⁵ Paul Lacroix, *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages, and at the Period of the Renaissance*, London, 1878, p. 214; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923-1934, vol. II, p. 386.

⁶ H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. II, New York, 1920, pp. 324, 374; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 166-167, 266, 329, 331, 575, 606, 701-702, 889; vol. III, pp. 19-20; vol. IV, pp. 143, 462.

in them anye reason. Yet verye manye of the Auncientes exceedinge graue menne haue written of these thinges, *Hermes, Alchindus, Pythagoras, Pharaotes* the Indian, *Zopirus, Helenus, Ptolomee, Aristotle, Alphorabius*, besides these *Galene, Auicenna, Rasis, Iulian, Maternus, Loxius, Philemon, Palemon, Constantine, Africane*, and finallye of the Romane Princes, *Lucius Scilla*, and *Caesar* dictatoure were very studious thereof. Of the latter sorte *Peter* of *Appona*, *Albert* the Dutcheman, *Michaell Scotte, Antiochus, Bartholmewe Cocles, Michaell Sauonarola, Anthonie Cermison, Peter* of *Arca, Andrewe Corue, Tricassus* of *Mantua, Iohn* of *Indago*, and many other famous Phisitions.⁷

The opposition to the practice of chiromancy centers chiefly in the fact that since this pseudo-science is based only upon conjectures, the practitioners of the science cannot agree upon the tenets of it.⁸ Even Raymond Lull, although he is the author of works on many pseudo-sciences, feels that chiromancy is founded on too weak a basis for belief.⁹ Nicolas Oresme, bishop of Lisieux, suggests that there may be some truth in chiromancy, since it is a part of physiognomy, but only as it pertains to the constitution of the individual.

As might be expected, the most interesting as well as the most telling arguments against chiromancy are from the pens of men of letters. Thomas Nashe, for example, argues that the shape, color, and lines of a man's hand are entirely dependent upon his labor and exercise, and that they alter day by day as the employments or pastimes are altered. He goes on to say that by examining the palm it is quite possible to determine an individual's occupation, "but for the minde or disposition, we can no more looke into through it, than wee can into a looking Glasse through the wooden case thereof."¹⁰ Thomas Dekker, on his part, relates that cony-catchers

⁷ Agrippa, *op. cit.*, fol. 51r. A valuable account of the early history of chiromancy and physiognomy appears in Hardin Craig's introduction to the works of John Metham, *Early English Text Society*, O. S., vol. 132, pp. xix-xxx.

⁸ James Mason, *The Anatomie of Sorcerie*, London, 1612, p. 90; John Chamber, *A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie*, London, 1601, p. 103; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 25, 287; Vergile, *op. cit.*, fol. 34r; Henry Howard, *A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, London, 1620, fol. 25r; Agrippa, *op. cit.*, fol. 51r; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 421.

⁹ Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, 63-64. Cf. Ludovicus Vives, *An Introduction to VVysedome*, London, 1540, sig. D3v.

¹⁰ Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night*, London, 1594, sig. F1r.

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come to villages on holidays and, when the villagers flock around them, profess skill in palmistry, saying that they can

tel fortunes: which for the most part are infallibly true, by reason that they worke vpon rules, which are grounded vpon certainty: for one of them wil tel you that you shal shortly haue some euill luck fal vpon you, & within halfe an houre after you shall find your pocket pick'd, or your purse cut.¹¹

John Taylor, furthermore, in his character of a bawd, appears to believe that the practice of chiromancy can be rather accurate when practiced by bawds, especially when barren women consult these practitioners. He reports that such a woman is often skillful in chiromancy and physiognomy,

but above all, her skill is much credited to helpe yong women breed and fructife, so that if shee be as barren as a Stockfish, yet the matronly medicines and instructions of this wise cunning woman, will in a little time make her encrease with a vengeance, and multiply with a mischief.¹²

First of all, in the practice of chiromancy, it must be understood that there are five principle lines in the hand: (1) the table line or line of fortune, (2) the natural line, (3) the line of life or of the heart, (4) the line of the liver or stomach, and (5) the sister line or line of death. Suppose we consider the right hand. The table line is the first line down from the fingers and runs from the left side of the hand to the middle finger.¹³ Launcelot Gobbo is speaking of this line as he looks at his hand and remarks to Old Gobbo:

Well, if any man in Italy have a fairer table which doth offer to swear upon a book—! I shall have a good fortune. Go to, here's a simple line of life! Here's a small trifle of wives! Alas, fifteen wives is nothing! a 'leven widows and nine maids is a simple coming-in for one man; and then

¹¹ Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1609), *Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Grosart, London, 1885, vol. III, p. 263.

¹² John Taylor, "A Bawd" (1635), *Works*, Spenser Society, vol. 19, pp. 24-25.

¹³ This account of the principles of Chiromancy is based chiefly upon the following works: John ab Indagine, *op. cit.*, sigs. Al^r-G5^r; Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge*, trans. W. Lilly, London, 1766, pp. 67-70; Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie*, etc., second edition, Lonodn, 1671, *passim*; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1621, p. 77. See also John Bulwer, *Chirologia*, London, 1644.

to scape drowning thrice, and to be in peril of my life with the edge of a featherbed! Here are simple scapes.¹⁴

The line of life, which Launcelot mentions, runs from the right side of the hand down toward the wrist. The natural line arises from the same point as does the line of life, but it runs across the hand. The line of the liver runs from the wrist up to the natural line, near its end, and thus forms a triangle or plain of Mars. The sister line is a short line which parallels the line of life on the side near the thumb. Besides these lines, chiromancy locates on the hand the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac. At the root of the little finger is the mount of Mercury; of the ring finger, the Sun; of the middle finger, Saturn; of the index finger, Jupiter; and of the thumb, Venus. The triangle of Mars has been mentioned, and the mount of the Moon is at the left of the hand, near the wrist. These various mounts of chiromancy, furthermore, have found their way into the drama. Lyly mentions one of them in *Mother Bombie* as Candidus presents her hand to Silena, saying, "Heres my hand, whats a clocke?" and receives the reply, "The line of life is good, *Venus* mount very perfect; you shall haue a scholler to your first husband."¹⁵ In *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, as well, the Captain of the gipsies thus reads the hand of the King, who is disguised:

You are no great wench, I see by your table,
Although your *Mons Veneris* says you are able.
You live chaste and single, and have buried your wife,
And mean not to marry, by the line of your life:
Whence he that conjectures your quality learns
You're an honest good man and have care of your bairns.
Your Mercury's hill too a wit doth betoken;
Some book-craft you have, and are pretty well spoken.
But stay! In your Jupiter's mount what's here?
A king? a monarch? What wonders appear!
High, bountiful, just; a Jove for your parts,
A master of men, and that reign in their hearts.¹⁶

Whereby we see that gypsies have long been known for their mastery of the art of palmistry, and that this one is as sufficiently adept as need be.

In *The Alchemist*, too, as one might expect, Ben Jonson has

¹⁴ *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 166-175.

¹⁵ II. iii. 50-57. Cf. *Supposes*, I. ii. 45-46.

¹⁶ Pt. 1, lines 223-234.

occasion to resort to chiromancy, as he finds place for most of the mounts as well as the location of one of the signs of the zodiac. Subtle is reading Abel Drugger's fortune, and is explaining to Face what he finds in the palm:

The thumb, in chiromancy, we give to Venus;
The forefinger to Jove; the midst to Saturn;
The ring to Sol; the least to Mercury,
Who was the lord, sir, of his horoscope,
His house of life being Libra; which foreshow'd
He should be a merchant, and should trade with balance.¹⁷

Indeed, so popular was the subject in sixteenth century Italy that the lines and the mounts of chiromancy were incorporated into a fashionable parlor game.¹⁸

If the joints of the fingers be numbered from the hand outward, the first joint of the little finger belongs to Sagittarius, the second to Scorpio, the third to Libra; of the ring finger, the first belongs to Virgo, the second to Leo, the third to Cancer; of the middle finger, the first belongs to Pisces, the second to Aquarius, the third to Capricorn; and of the index finger, the first belongs to Gemini, the second to Taurus, and the third to Aries.

The significations of the conformations in different hands are somewhat complicated, and only a brief outline can be given. As a general principle, it should be noted that straight lines not crossed by other lines and well colored are the best, and indicate a good complexion. In Gascoigne's version of Ariosto's *Supposes* appears a literary confirmation of this fact as Pasyphilo examines Cleander's hand, saying, "O how straight and infracte is this line of life! You will live to the yeeres of Melchisedech."¹⁹ When small lines touch the line of life near the upper end, it betokens

¹⁷ I. iii. 52-57. For other literary references, see Fletcher, *The Pilgrim, Works*, Cambridge, 1905, vol. v, p. 201 (iv. ii); John Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, II. iii. 86-94; George Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, sc. i, lines 110-119; Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, v. ii. 113-118. I am indebted to T. P. Harrison, Jr., for reference to a chiromantic passage in *Hymenaeus* (II. iii. 56 ff., ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Cambridge, 1908), a comedy in Latin acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, circa 1578. Since this paper was written, there has appeared a brief account of "Non-Alchemical Pseudo-sciences in *The Alchemist*" (J. Parr, in *Philological Quarterly*, XXIV (1945), pp. 85-89).

¹⁸ T. F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, New Haven, 1920, p. 270.

¹⁹ I. ii. 36-38.

illness. If the table line has at its end three small lines or branches near the mount of Jupiter, running straight to the upper corner, it "signifieth a fortunate, liberal, merry, modest and noble man, which delighteth in all kind of comely and cleanly apparel, and sweet smells and favours." If the table line is "deep, subtle and pale," at its end, it indicates an honest and chaste person. Iras, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, evidently hopes that her hand has some such configuration, for she presents her hand to the Soothsayer with these words, "There's a palm presages chastity, if nothing else." The Soothsayer, however, casts down her hopes.²⁰ Perhaps Iras has on her hand a cross which touches the line of life at its upper corner, for this, as John ab Indagine writes, "signifieth a libidinous and an unshamefac'd woman."²¹ A star within the triangle of Mars betokens the same. If any of the mounts of the planets are plain and smooth, the person is under the influence of the corresponding planet, and the effects can be ascertained by consulting an astrological handbook. Lines within the various joints of the finger are referred to the appropriate signs of the zodiac, and are judged on this basis. Again it is seen that character analysis by means of palmistry must be closely correlated with judicial astrology, preferably by the casting of a horoscope.

Chiromancy, then, presented the Elizabethans with a pseudo-science which was a plebeian version of physiognomy in much the same way that physiognomy was ancillary to astrology; but it was never as popular or in as good repute as the other pseudo-sciences. The reduction of esoteric studies to handbook form, however, is well illustrated here in a subject which was sufficiently well-known to be mentioned in Renaissance literature.

CARROLL CAMDEN

The Rice Institute

NOCH EINMAL SCHILLERS RELIQUIEN

(ZUR FRAGE EINER FORTSETZUNG VON GOETHE'S
GEDICHT AUF SCHILLERS SCHÄDEL)

Goethes Terzinen "Im ernsten Beinhaus war's . . ." folgen (ohne Überschrift) in der Ausgabe letzter Hand (1829) auf das

²⁰ I. ii. 43-60.

²¹ John ab Indagine, *op. cit.*, sig. B6r.

dritte Buch der *Wanderjahre*. Der Zusatz am Schlusse des Gedichtes "Ist fortzusetzen" ist neuerdings, angeregt durch Karl Viëtors weitausholende Untersuchungen in *PMLA*, Gegenstand einer lebhaften Diskussion geworden.¹

Das Gedicht spiegelt die Überzeugung des Dichters von der Einheit des Naturgesetzes wieder, das im Geistigen wie im Körperlichen walte. Die Stadien der Entstehung des Gedichtes lassen sich an der Hand des Tagebuches verfolgen:

25. September 1826: Nachts Terzinen.

26. September 1826: Früh die Terzinen weitergeführt . . .
Die Terzinen abgeschrieben . . . Weitere
Beachtung der Terzinen.

¹ Viëtor vertritt (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 142-183, 1166-1172, *PMLA*, LX [1945], 421-426) die Ansicht, daß Goethe mit diesem Zusatz "die Auslegung des 'Weltgeheimnisses' . . . etwa durch weitere selbständige 'Naturgedichte'" (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1172) im Sinne gehabt, also die Fortsetzung in einer Reihe von Gedichten geplant hätte; Alexander R. Hohlfeld (*PMLA*, LX [1945], 399-420) bezieht den Zusatz auf den Roman; Franz H. Mautner (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1156-1162) sieht mit Viëtor das Gedicht als erstes einer Reihe weiterer Gedichte an, betrachtet aber die letzten vier Zeilen als den Anfang eines dieser Gedichte, das fortgesetzt werden sollte; Ernst Feise (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1162-1166) kommt auf Grund einer schallanalytischen Untersuchung zu dem Schluß, daß die Fortsetzung, unter Ausschaltung der letzten vier Zeilen, die nur ein "Notdach" seien, sich "nach einem ursprünglichen, wieder aufzunehmenden Plan" an Zeile 30 angeschlossen hätte, indem er vermutet, "daß das Gedicht in der Tat als Zyklus geplant war, in dem die letzten Verse irgendwie einen Platz finden sollten, daß sie aber dann, weil sie zu früh formuliert wurden, die weitere Konzeption unterbanden." (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1166).—Auf das Gedicht selbst beziehen den Zusatz: Max Wundt, *Goethes Wilhelm Meister und die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals*. (Berlin, 1913, 2. Auflage 1932), 347, und zwar unter Heranziehung des Druckbildes und der Tagebuchnotiz vom 26. September 1826: "Weitere Beachtung der Terzinen" (siehe unten), und Max Hecker, *Schillers Tod und Bestattung*. (Leipzig, 1935), 160, dieser, indem er hinzufügt: "Solche verheißene Fortsetzung ist freilich nicht erfolgt." Hecker zitiert aber dann (nach der Weimarer Ausgabe, Bd. 5, Zweite Abteilung, 408) den Entwurf zu einem Gedicht in Terzinen, den er als einen "Ansatz" zu einer Fortsetzung des Gedichtes betrachtet. Den er zweifelt im übrigen nicht daran, daß sich der Zusatz auf das Gedicht beziehe, gleichfalls schon wegen des Druckbildes. Dieses scheint jedoch für Hecker nur der äußere Grund, der das Gefühl der Richtigkeit dieser Annahme bekräftigt, die für ihn augenscheinlich keines weiteren Beweises bedarf.

In der Ausgabe letzter Hand ist das Gedicht, abweichend von dem vorangehenden Text, nicht in Fraktur, sondern in Antiqua gedruckt. Der erwähnte Vermerk am Schluß (Ist fortzusetzen.), gleichfalls in Antiqua, ist in Klammern gesetzt, in einer neuen Zeile ohne Zwischenraum an die vorangehende Zeile angeschlossen, aber eingerückt, sodaß die beiden Zeilenenden zusammenfallen.

Der Umstand, daß Goethe, wie das Tagebuch zeigt, das Gedicht nicht in einem Guß hingeschrieben, sondern sich in gewissen Zeitabständen damit beschäftigt, also in Fortsetzungen daran gearbeitet hat, legt den Schluß nahe, daß die "weitere Beachtung der Terzinen" nicht die letzte gewesen sein mag, und die Absicht, solche folgen zu lassen, in dem gedachten Vermerk ausgedrückt wurde. Die Arbeitstechnik Goethes würde einem solchen Schluß nicht widersprechen. In Eckermanns Gesprächen (29. Oktober 1823) betont Goethe die Wichtigkeit "der Auffassung und Darstellung des Besonderen"; sie sei "das eigentliche Leben der Kunst." Das Allgemeine könne "jeder nachmachen; aber das Besondere macht uns niemand nach. Warum? Weil es die andern nicht erlebt haben. . . Auf dieser Stufe der individuellen Darstellung beginnt dann zugleich dasjenige, was man Komposition nennt."

Richard M. Meyer² erklärt diese Worte, die Eckermann "nicht sogleich klar" waren, dahin, daß für den Dichter jetzt erst die Durcharbeitung beginne, "um die durch Offenbarung fühlbar gewordene Einheit der Grundstimmung, der inneren Form auch tatsächlich durchzuführen."

Die Worte des Dichters und ihre Deutung durch R. M. Meyer—deren Richtigkeit vorausgesetzt—beziehen sich nicht auf eine bestimmte Dichtung Goethes. Doch können sie sehr wohl auf das vorliegende Gedicht angewendet werden. Auch in Goethes Terzinen ist die Einheit der Grundstimmung, der inneren Form durch Offenbarung fühlbar geworden. Diese ist nun durchzuführen und damit beginnt die Durcharbeitung.

Aber auch die Gewohnheiten und Eigentümlichkeiten der Schaffensweise Goethes überhaupt gewähren Anhaltspunkte, die eine Fortsetzung des Gedichtes selbst nicht ausschließen.

Die Worte des Direktors im Vorspiel auf dem Theater (1797)

² Goethes Art zu arbeiten." *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xiv [1893], (167-195), 180.

Gebt ihr euch einmal für Poeten,
So kommandiert die Poesie.³

sind charakteristisch für den Goethe dieser Zeit, Theaterdirektor und Dichter zugleich.⁴ Sie finden ihre Bekräftigung in der Äußerung: "Wir wollen sehen, wie weit wir's im *Wollen* bringen können" (an Schiller, 6. März 1799). Kurze Zeit darauf aber (an Schiller, 16. März 1799) heißt es: "Durch eine ganz besondere Resolution und Diät habe ich es gezwungen" — es handelt sich um die Achilleis — so gleichsam die Entschlußkraft durch weises Maßhalten stärkend. Die Einhaltung einer "Diät" tritt bei Goethe, der in seinem Schaffen auch von Wetter und Jahreszeiten abhängig war,⁵ im Alter deutlicher hervor. "In der Poesie lassen sich gewisse Dinge nicht zwingen und man muß von guten Stunden erwarten, was durch geistigen Willen nicht zu erreichen ist" (Eckermanns Gespräche, 21. März 1830). Solche Äußerungen deuten darauf hin, daß die Fortsetzung eines angefangenen Gedichtes, welcher Art und in welcher Weise immer, nicht ohne weiteres ausgeschlossen werden kann.

Diese Erwägungen mehr allgemeiner Art über die Schaffensweise Goethes, die der Fortsetzung eines Gedichtes, und zwar des Gedichtes selbst, nicht widersprechen, finden aber eine Stütze von einer ganz anderen, nicht minder wichtigen Seite her: nämlich im Wortlaut des Gedichtes. Hier können wir uns auf dem festen Boden der Tatsachen bewegen, die ihrerseits wieder jene allgemeinen Argumente illustrieren.

Die zwei letzten Zeilen:

Wie sie das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen,
Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre.

müssen unter der Voraussetzung, daß das Gedicht kein Fragment ist, als ein abgeschlossener Satz gelesen werden. Die konjunktivische Form "bewahre" wäre in diesem Falle als poetische Lizenz aufzufassen. Wenn man sich aber dieser Interpretation nicht anschließen will — und wir dürfen dem Dichter zutrauen, daß er einen Ausweg gefunden hätte, wenn er das Gedicht als abgeschlossen betrachtet

³ Jubil. Ausgabe, Bd 13, 11, und Anmerkungen, 266.

⁴ Vgl. des Verfassers "Theaterdirektor Goethe," *Germanic Review*, XVIII [1943], 241-250.

⁵ R. M. Meyer, a. a. O., 183.

hätte—bleibt nichts anderes übrig als den Konjunktiv als solchen zu beachten.

In diesem Falle wären die beiden letzten Zeilen als Teile eines zusammengesetzten Satzes anzusehen, wobei Zeile 33 eine Terzine abgeschlossen, Zeile 34 aber den Anfangsvers einer neuen Terzine gebildet hätte:

Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
 Als daß sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?
 Wie sie das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen,
 Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre . . .

Daß der Satz mit "verrinnen" nicht geschlossen wäre und in die nächste Terzine hätte übergeführt werden müssen, spricht nicht gegen diese Annahme, da Satzschluß und Strophenschluß nicht zusammenfallen müssen, wie auch in diesem Gedicht am Ende der 8. und Beginn der 9. Terzine:

8(3) Ein Blick der mich an jenes Meer entrückte
 9(1) Das flutend strömt gesteigerte Gestalten.*

Obwohl der Konjunktiv "bewahre" an und für sich auf eine Fortsetzung hinweist, ist es doch vielleicht nicht überflüssig, auch den Wechsel zwischen diesem und dem unmittelbar vorangehenden Indikativ "läßt . . . verrinnen" in diesem Zusammenhang zu beachten. Hierbei wird es sich nicht darum handeln können, den Dichter über das von ihm aufgezeichnete Wort hinaus zu interpretieren, sondern höchstens zu versuchen, den Entstehungsprozess, soweit dies überhaupt möglich ist, von den gegebenen Tatsachen aus zu rekonstruieren. Vielleicht läßt sich hieraus ein Anhaltspunkt sowohl für diesen Wechsel von Indikativ und Konjunktiv, als auch zugleich für das abrupte Ende finden. Der Indikativ "läßt . . . verrinnen" ist syntaktisch unschwer zu erklären.

Die Frage—das Ergebnis der Betrachtungen—ist gestellt:

Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
 Als daß sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?

Die Antwort scheint—zunächst—einfach: Der Dichter erkennt, oder hat schon erkannt, wie Gott-Natur "das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen"; dann aber fährt er, und zwar, da die Terzine ab-

* Auch Ernst Feises vorerwähnte Annahme eines "Notdaches" stützt die These, daß der jetzige Abschluß unvollkommen ist.

geschlossen ist, in einer neuen Strophe fort, "Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre." Wie der Satz fortgesetzt werden sollte, ob ein weiteres "Wie . . ." oder der Nachsatz hätte folgen sollen, steht nicht zur Entscheidung.

Jedenfalls bricht der Dichter hier ab und wir könnten uns vorstellen, wie er, damit vorläufig abschließend, hinzufügt: "Ist fortzusetzen."

Der Konjunktiv fände damit seine Deutung: unsicher geworden, ist er nicht imstande fortzusetzen, vielleicht aus heiliger Scheu, vielleicht unfähig, wenigstens augenblicklich, das Unbeschreibliche weiter auszuspinnen. Und überwältigt von dem Ungeheuren der in ihm erweckten Vorstellungen, verliert er gleichsam den festen Boden unter den Füßen, was dann, ins trocken Philologische transponiert, in der adäquateren Form des Konjunktivs den stilgerechten Ausdruck findet, der eine Fortsetzung offen läßt.

Das Resultat wäre demnach, daß wir in den Terzinen auf Schillers Schädel das Fragment eines Gedichtes vor uns haben.

Die Form des Konjunktivs "bewahre," die zu dieser Hypothese führte, ist gegeben. Sie wurde in diesem Zusammenhang nicht oder kaum beachtet. In Verbindung mit dem oben beschriebenen Druckbild, ferner Goethes Aufzeichnungen im Tagebuch, zusammengehalten mit Eigentümlichkeiten der Schaffensweise des Dichters, führt sie, wenn auch nicht zwangsläufig, so doch jedenfalls ohne Zwang, zu dem Ergebnis, daß sich der Zusatz "Ist fortzusetzen" auf das Gedicht selbst beziehen dürfte, an dessen Ende er gesetzt ist.

Es ist dies keine neue Theorie. Das ist natürlich, denn es ist die einfachste, wenn man will die "billigste" Erklärung, weil sie den geringsten Aufwand an Interpretation erfordert, was aber wohl keinen hinreichenden Grund bilden dürfte, sie abzulehnen.

Ob diese Erklärung *die* richtige ist, wird niemand wagen wollen zu entscheiden, am wenigsten der Verfasser selbst, der damit nur einen kleinen Beitrag zur Lösung dieser Frage leisten will. Denn je mehr Erklärungen desto besser, dienen sie ja doch alle dem letzten Zweck, den Dichter immer vollkommener verstehen zu lernen. Vielleicht wird dann einmal unter den mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlichen Erklärungen eine als die—wohl auch nur relativ—wahrscheinlichste anerkannt werden können.

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MINERVA, TASCHENBUCH FÜR DAS JAHR 1809 [-1813]

Goedeke, in his *Grundris* (VIII, 66-68) gives a complete description and collation of this *Taschenbuch*, together with a list of its contributors. He is unaware of the fact that the issues of 1809-1813 (and perhaps others) exist in two and even three different printings, described below:

Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1809. Mit 8 Kupfern. Leipzig bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng. Frontispiece, title, 32, 208 pp., 6 plates, 1 double plate. Copy in half-leather, designated as A.

Copy B: title as above; frontispiece, title, 208 pp., 1 double plate; (first pagination of 32 pp., as well as 6 plates are lacking). Copy B, in cloth.

Readings: p. 14, 9 Rahel? A, Rahel. B 24, 20 seitdem A, seitdem B 39, 11 dem heutigen A, dem heutige B 111, 6 des Isistempel A, des Isistempels B 111, 23 sichtbarer A, sichtbarer B 160, 3 Cleopatra A, Clopatra B 162, 23 Losungswort A, Loosungswort B.

Minerva, Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1810. Mit 10 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-40, [1]-280, 8 plates; half-leather. Copy A.

Copy B: title as above; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-16, [1]-280, 1 plate. Cloth, bound with copy B of 1809.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1810. Zweiter Jahrgang. Mit 10 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-40, [1]-280, 9 plates, in buckram.

Readings: p. 80, 20 durch ein gleiches AB, durch gleiches C 83, 7 zu jenen AB, in jenen C 83, 14 Blutverwandtschaft AB, Blutsverwandtschaft C 84, 24 mannigfaltigen AB, mannichfaltigen C 85, 21 goß, A, goß: BC 86, 24 euch A, Euch BC 87, 6 Worte, die AC, Worte die B 179, 4 Despoten AC, Despoten B 179, 13 despotische A, despotische BC.

Minerva für des Jahr 1811. Mit 9 Kupfern Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 20, 379 pp.; p. [380]: Leipzig, gedruckt bey J. G. Neubert. (8 plates missing). Copy A, in half-leather.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1811. Dritter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.*;

frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 379 pp. (p. [380] is blank.) Cloth binding.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1811. Dritter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 379 pp., 8 plates; (p. [380] is blank). Buckram binding.

Readings: p. 76, 5 freyer AB, freier C 77, 22 trockneten A, trockneten, BC 80, 19 ungefähr A, ohngefähr BC 217, 3 Volksmärchen AB, Volksmärchen C 219, 2 biederber AB, biederer C 233, 9 Weinpokal AC, Weinpocal B.

Minerva für das Jahr 1812. Mit 9 Kupfern Leipzig bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp., 5 plates; p. [372]: Leipzig, gedruckt bey J. G. Neubert. Copy A, in half-leather.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1812. Vierter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp., 8 plates; (p. [372] is blank). Half-leather.

A second copy of this printing, in cloth, is otherwise identical with the preceding, but lacks the first pagination of 56 pp., as well as the 8 plates.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1812. Vierter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp.

Readings: p. 105, 1 sphingische A, sphinxische BC 106, 9 keins A, (and one copy of B), eins B, eins C (The k of *keins* dropped out in one copy of B, and from such a copy C was printed) 107, 17 verließ AB, verlies C 109, 12 schwerern A, schweren BC 111, 2 beliebten AB, geliebten C 112, 3 vermehrte AB, vermehrt C 112, 9 Botschaft A, Bothschaft BC 113, 17 die Prinzessin AB, nie Prinzessin C 116, 23 traurend AB, trauernd C 118, 24 Wundern AB, Wunden C 279, 16 unmilitairischen AB, unmilitärischen C.

Minerva für das Jahr 1813. Mit 10 Kupfern Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 12, 476 pp. (no plates); half-leather; copy A.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1813. Fünfter*

Jahrgang. Mit 10 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts, 476 pp.; Cloth.

Readings: p. 14, 13 F***** A, F***** B 23, 8 theilen.—
 “Wahrlich A, theilen.”—Warlich B 32, 13 Prophezeiung A,
 Prophezeiung B p. 37 / 38 Auch A, Auch Auch B 42, 22
 heimtückischste A, heimtückischste B 50, 20 vom Anfange A,
 von Anfange B 51, 2 allmählig A, allmählich B 54, 22
 Beschäftigung A, Beschäftigung B 55, 4 könne! A, könne?
 B 59, 23 besitze.”—A, besitze.” — — B.

Of the subsequent issues I possess for the most part only single copies: any one who has several copies of a given issue before him may perhaps discover further Doppeldrucke.

W. KURRELMAYER

TEXT-NOTES ON *DEOR*

Concluding a short series of notes on outstanding textual problems of *Deor*,¹ the following brief comments are offered for consideration by students of this fascinating OE poem.

VIII

In line 1, the reading of the first word is established as *Welund* and not *Weland* the normal OE form. This detail, first revealed by J. Schipper, in 1874,² was confirmed in Wülcker's standard editions and has been adopted by many later editors.³ It is worth adding Wülcker in his edition of 1882 which aimed at exact unemended reproductions of MSS, read *Welund* but with a footnote (p. 11), “Hier auch *u* = *a*”; this was ambiguous, but Wülcker's

¹ Cf. *MLN.*, LV (1940), 204 ff. (notes I-IV); *ib.* LVIII (1943), 367 ff. (notes V-VII).

² *Germania*, xix, 333, among the results of his careful collation of the Exeter Book made in the winter of 1870-71.

³ Cf. R. P. Wülcker, (1) *Kleinere ags. Dichtungen*, 1882; (2) rev. of C. W. M. Grein's *Bibl. d. ags. Poesie*, I (1883); Fr. Kluge, *Ags. Lesebuch*, 1888; R. Imelmann, *Zeugnisse z. ae. Odoaker-Dichtung*, 1907; Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 1922, 1936; Kemp Malone, *Deor*, 1933; W. S. Mackie, *Exeter Book Pt. II* (*EETS.* 194), 1934; E. V. K. Dobbie, *Exeter Book*, 1936 (begun by G. P. Krapp).

subsequent explanation as given in his revision of the Bibliothek (I, 278), where *Weland* is read with a note 'das *a* hat hier die *u* — artige Form — es ist also *Weland* zu lesen,' has influenced not a few later editors in introducing into their texts the normalized *Weland*.⁴ In fact, though the paleographic detail involved in this difference of readings is very slight, Wülcker's contention could be considered proven only if minute examination of the MS or use of ultra-violet ray photography revealed beyond dispute traces of a stroke completing *u* into *a*. I have not examined the original Exeter Book MS, fol. 100a, for this detail, but no such impression is given by the very clear facsimile published in 1933;⁵ and on examining the very remarkable and accurate pen and ink transcript of the Exeter Book made in 1831-32, now British Museum Addit. MS. 9067,⁶ I found the form on fol. 100a in imitated lettering is unambiguously *Welund*.

This then is the more authoritative reading. It is true this precise form is not otherwise recorded in OE:⁷ elsewhere in verse the name is invariably *Weland*,⁸ while a spelling *Welond* is found twice in the Alfredian prose Boethius.⁹ In ME the form is also "Weland,"¹⁰ but once again, in the fifteenth-century *Torrent of Portyngale*,¹¹ the name appears as "Velond." Chronological considerations prevent our reckoning seriously with the possible influence of the Scandinavian forms *Völundr*, *Vølundr*;¹² but as others have pointed out, the ending of our unique form in -und may still illustrate a genuine OE phonologic development in the unstressed

⁴ Cf. E. Sieper, *Die ae. Elegie*, 1915; Bruce Dickins, *Runic & Heroic Poems*, 1915; L. L. Schücking, *Kleines ags. Dichterbuch*, 1919; A. J. Wyatt, *Ags. Reader*, 1919; W. J. Sedgefield (1) *Beowulf*, 3d. ed. 1935; (2) *Ags. Verse Book*, 1922.

⁵ *Exeter Book of OE Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, Robin Flower, Max Förster.

⁶ Cf. R. W. Chambers, *Anglia*, xxxiv (1912), 393 ff.

⁷ Cf. Bosworth-Toller, s. n. *Weland*.

⁸ Instances were collected by P. Maurus, *Die Wielandsage in d. Lit.*, 1902, pp. 7 ff.

⁹ Ed. Sedgefield, 1899, p. 46.

¹⁰ *Horne Childe*, ed. J. Hall, l. 402.

¹¹ Cf. Maurus, op. cit., p. 28.

¹² Cf. G. Binz, *Beiträge*, xx (1895), 186 ff.; B. Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, III (1900), 726; A. Heusler, *Reallexikon*, IV (1919), 529; H. Gering, B. Sijmons, *Kommentar z. d. Liedern d. Edda*, II (1931), 3.

syllable, -and > ond > und.¹³ This is to be sure a late change not commonly or generally evidenced, and alternatively there is nothing drastic in assuming in our text a slight aberration from the true reading *Weland*. For instance, Holthausen now reads this as an emendation, while noting the true MS reading; and Imelmann in 1907 read *Welund* in his text but preferred *Weland* in his commentary.¹⁴

Now, as the very first word of a new poem *Welund* was needless to say slowly and carefully written; and the odds are against this aberration unless we are prepared to assume it was assisted by association in the copyist's mind with some other word in the copy of *Deor* before him as he wrote. It is just possible the first words of lines 1 and 2, *Welund, anhydig*, were so confused by a scribe from *Weland, unhydig* of the original. There would be little to choose between *anhydig* ("dauntless," cp. *syllan monn*, 6, *anhydig eorl*, Azarias 181) and *unhydig* ("unhappy," cp. *Guðlac* 1302), as epithets of the tormented *Weland*. And yet, it is always an advantage to be able to dispense with emendation. Especially in a clearly written and accurate MS like the Exeter Book should one hesitate before assuming definite scribal errors. The by-form *Welund* and the generally accepted *anhydig* may very well remain.

IX

Lines 39 f oþ þæt Heorrenda nu,
leoðcræftig monn londryht gebah.

In line 40 editors print *geþah* either with or without accent. Most take it as *geþah*, long vowel, pret. sg. of *geþeon*, cl. I verb "to enjoy." Earliest editors used accents somewhat arbitrarily, but some later ones¹⁵ keep *geþah*, short vowel, unaccented with intention and where they gloss the form put it as pret. of *geþicg(e)an*, cl. V, "to receive." Metrically either long or short vowel is possible. The same pret. form occurs in other verse texts, notably in *Beowulf* 1024 f.: *Beowulf geþah ful on flette*, and *Widsith* 3 f.: *oft he flette geþah mynelicne mappum*, in both of which the sense

¹³ Cf. Malone, ed. cit., p. 19; also T. Grienberger, *Anglia*, XLV (1921), 394.

¹⁴ F. Holthausen, *Beowulf*, I (6th ed. 1929), 108 (text), II (5th ed. 1929), 195 (notes); Imelmann, ed. cit., pp. 9, 6.

¹⁵ Cf. M. Rieger, *Alt- u. ags. Lesebuch*, 1861; F. A. March, *An Ags. Reader*, 1870; Wyatt, Malone, edd. cc.

might equally well be "enjoyed" or "received." In the *Beowulf* passage, according to Klaeber, the form is from *geþicgan* and "looks like a WS scribe's ineffectual respelling of Angl. *þæh*."¹⁶ Other editors differ and there is naturally some confusion over the two possibilities: occasionally, as by Holthausen (ed. cit.) in all three passages, *geþah* (long vowel) is read but glossed under *geþicgan*. This confusion is not resolved by phonologic considerations. The form *geþah* is the normal pret. sg. of *geþeon*, older **geþihan*, but there is found also an analogical cl. II variant *geþeah*.¹⁷ Therefore, taking into account the possibility of *þah* being an "ineffectual respelling" of Angl. *þæh*, as one may well do in these late OE verse texts which by conflicting forms suggest more than one recension, we are faced with *geþah* representing no less than five phonologic forms: long vowel *geþah*, Angl. *geþæh*, WS. *geþeah* (cl. I) and short vowel Angl. *geþæh*, WS. *geþeah* (cl. V). To these could possibly be added one more, *geþah* (long vowel) as an analogical cl. V pret. arising from confusion of the two verbs.¹⁸ But all these are merely theoretic possibilities, which do not affect the two main views. Here in *Deor* the only detail which helps a choice between these two groups, is the context use of the adverb *nu* "now, just lately" ("modo"): logically the poet would have meant "has now received" rather than "has now enjoyed," for which a present tense would be expected. The verb is therefore *geþicgan*,¹⁹ but either *geþah* short or *geþah* long is permissible.

As for *londryht*, 40, the granting of it by the lord to his favorite the bard *Deor* has been often compared with the grant of land made to the travelling minstrel "Widsith," 95 f.: *he me lond for-geaf, mines fæder eþel*. Between these there is a technical difference of terms:²⁰ what Widsith receives is *eðelriht* (so *Beowulf*

¹⁶ Cf. ed. cit., p. lxxxvii (addit. references); also Malone, *Widsith*, 1936, p. 63.

¹⁷ Cf. F. A. Wood, *Klaeber Miscellany*, pp. 28 f.

¹⁸ Cf. E. Sievers, *Ags. Grammatik*, § 391, n. 8.

¹⁹ Compare *Fates of Men* 80 f.; cf. Grienberger, op. cit., 407. Malone, loc. cit., quotes a solitary use of *geþeon* in early Kentish with the sense "receive," but there is no evidence of common use.

²⁰ Cf. H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Ags. Constitutions*, 1905, pp. 367 ff. (Excursus V); Schücking, *Untersuchungen z. Bedeutungslehre d. ags. Dichtersprache*, 1915, pp. 44 ff. (s. v. *eðelriht*); also L. F. Anderson, *The Ags. Scop*, 1903, passim.

2198), strictly ancestral, hereditary estate or the privileges deriving from it; to *Deor* is granted *londryht* (so *Beowulf* 2886, *Exodus* 354), estate or its privileges bestowed on the retainer by his lord and—as these last lines of *Deor* show—revocable at the lord's pleasure. It is equally important to notice this difference is largely one of derivation; in poetry either term is heroic, chosen as in keeping with the fictitious heroic atmosphere of an age long past, and no very distinctive meanings are needed.

Finally, the phrase applied by "*Deor*" to the famous bard *Heorrenda* whom he declares has replaced him, *leoðcræftig monn* 40, is interesting as a really generous tribute to a successful rival: *leoðcræftig* is the OE term for a master of poetry both as an art and as a gift, both written and declaimed. We recall that Bede in his account of the mighty poet *Cædmon*, speaks of his "*canendi ars*" (OE *leoðcræft*) and "*canendi donum*" (*songcræft*); while the expert *Cynewulf* in his autobiographic passage in the *Elene* says it was God himself *leoðcræft onleac*, *þæs ic lustum breac*, *willum in worulde*, 1251 f.²¹

X

Lines 7, etc.: *þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg*. This so-called refrain of *Deor* brings with it problems which must be set aside here, the still doubtful matters of its precise application on each of the six appearances (ll. 7, 13, 17, 20, 27, 42) and of its general implication and value as a clue to the interpretation of the literary genre and metrical structure of the poem. Instead, one or two grammatical points deserve note.

Many earlier translators took *þisses swa mæg* as a personal wish, "so may I (surmount) this!" This is clearly inaccurate. As Wyatt pointed out in 1919, discussing *Maldon* 315,²² the optative value for *mæg* seems otherwise unknown in OE. This second half of the refrain cannot therefore be a wish, but is a statement of probability, expressing future surmountal of trouble just as the pret. *ofereode* expressed past: "for that (misfortune) there was

²¹ On the fiction of a personal setting in this last section of *Deor*, cf. W. W. Lawrence, *M. P.*, ix (1911), 23 ff., also Alois Brandl's brief essay, "Anfänge der Autobiographie in England," which appeared in 1908 and is now to be found in his *Forschungen u. Charakteristiken*, 1936, pp. 36 ff.

²² Ed. cit., p. 282; cf. also E. V. Gordon, *Battle of Maldon*, 1937, p. 61 n.

surmountal, so for this there shall be (is likely to be)." As Lawrence declared in 1911 (l.c.), "the use of the genitive *þæs* with *oferede* indicates that the verb is impersonal, while *ofergan* in the active sense is followed by the accusative; cf. *Beow.* 1409, 2960; *Andreas* 820, 826, 862 . . ." The plain fact is that *ofergan*, personal or impersonal, is nowhere else in OE found with a genitive: the *Deor* refrain is an exceptional usage. Lawrence, followed by Malone, refers to George Shipley's explanation of these genitives as "instrumental" or "of measure";²³ we must agree with Malone that "it seems better to call them genitives of reference or respect." In derivatives of *ofergan* in ME there is often a clear intransitive sense, cf. *Sir Gawain* 500: "forþi þis 3ol (MnE Yule) ouer3ede and þe 3ere after." The exceptional semi-intransitive, impersonal use of *ofergan* here in *Deor* may conceivably represent an intermediate stage.

As to the precise meaning of the refrain, a wide variety of renderings has been produced. It is impossible to reproduce any part of them here, but a survey of nearly one hundred different versions of the refrain, mostly English and German, taken from the various editions, translations, literary handbooks and periodical papers, has shown me that by far the majority do observe the impersonal structure and implication of the original. I may ally myself with Klæber²⁴ in personally preferring of them all Lawrence's free but interpretative rendering (op. cit., pp. 23, 29), "Old troubles have passed, and present ones may."

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SPENSER'S SONNET TO HARVEY

The occasion of Spenser's writing the sonnet to his "singular good Frend, M. Gabriell Haruey," which Harvey proudly printed at the close of his *Foure Letters*,¹ has never been noted. It has

²³ *Genitive Case in Aes. Poetry*, 1903, pp. 18, 50; cf. Malone, ed. cit., p. 24.

²⁴ *Archiv*, clxvii (1935), 40.

¹ *Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused . . . London . . . Iohn Wolfe, 1592 (The Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed. A. B. Grosart, London, 1884, I, 253-4).*

apparently always been assumed, indeed, that there was no particular occasion, that the poet simply penned the lines one day as a general tribute to his friend's "character and powers."² In his recent *Life of Spenser*, A. C. Judson reflects the accepted view when he describes the poem as "a small epistle in verse . . . intended perhaps to console Harvey for his disappointments."³ Was this sonnet, however—unlike Spenser's other separate sonnets, all of which were written as commendatory verses for new books—merely "a friendly address, not meant for publication?"⁴

By printing the poem without explanation, but with a salutation and complimentary close, Harvey may very well have intended to convey precisely this impression, namely, that as a counterpoise to the abuse he had suffered, he had reluctantly made public highly laudatory lines which Spenser had addressed to him privately. Nashe, at any rate, thought so and did not like the smell of it. Suspicious of Spenser's providing Harvey with so pat a letter of recommendation, he rashly averred that Harvey had written the sonnet to himself!⁵

Actually, in the text of the *Four Letters* volume, Harvey reveals clearly enough, though perhaps inadvertently, the occasion for Spenser's composing the sonnet. After quoting a dozen lines of one of his own unpublished poems in English hexameters, he breaks off with:

And so fourth: for the verse is not vnknown; & runneth in one of those vnsatyricall satyres, which M. *Spencer* long since embraced with an ouerlooing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Testimony of hys Iudgement.⁶

² G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 57.

³ *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum Edition (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1945), vol. 7, p. 119.

⁴ R. E. Neil Dodge, *The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge Edition, 1908), p. 762. Cf. also Sir Sidney Lee, *CHEL*, III, 309.

⁵ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904-10), I, 326-7. Though some of Nashe's charges of literary hoaxing by Harvey are well founded, he has thrust out wildly here. The sonnet is so thoroughly Spenserian in manner (being incidentally an early instance of the interlocked quatrain form) that the hypothesis is untenable.

⁶ *Works*, I, 212.

In other words, Spenser, some years before 1592, had written a sonnet in praise of a collection of satirical poems by Harvey. If, now, the sonnet of 1586 is read in the light of this statement of Harvey's, it will be seen to be in fact altogether an appropriate commendatory poem for a book of satires.

To the Right Worshipfull, my singular good frend,

M. Gabriell Haruey, Doctor of the Lawes.

Haruey, the happy aboue happiest men
I read: that sitting like a Looker-on
Of this worlde's Stage, doest note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition:
And as one carelesse of suspicion,
Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great:
Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat.
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,
Like a great Lord of peerelesse liberty:
Lifting the good vp to high Honours seat,
And the Euill damning euermore to dy;
For Life, and Death is in thy doomefull writing: ⁷

The inference is that Harvey had contemplated publishing a volume of satires in classical meters, had, towards the end of 1586, sent a draft over to Spenser in Ireland for his criticism, and had received from the poet, with the return of the manuscript, this commendatory sonnet to be prefixed upon publication.

Now, we know that Harvey had such a volume of satires in preparation as early as 1580, for, in the letters between him and Spenser published in that year, "Immerito" (i. e., Spenser) writes:

Truste me, you will hardly beleuee what greate good liking and estimation Maister Dyer had of youre *Satyricall Verses*, and I, since the viewe thereof, hauing before of my selfe had speciall liking of *Englishe Versifying*, am euen nowe aboute to giue you some token, what, and howe well therein I am able to doe. . . .⁸

⁷ Cf. "Death and life are in the power of the tongue" (*Proverbs*, 18: 21). Did Spenser play on the word "endighting" in the following line advisedly, to avoid praising the literary quality of Harvey's poems?

So thy renowme liues euer by endighting.

Dublin: this xviij of Iuly: 1586.

Your deuoted frend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER

⁸ *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters: lately passed betwene two*

And in the same *Three Letters*, intended among other things to advertise in advance, while the *Shepheardes Calender* was before the public, other works Spenser and Harvey had in progress, Harvey offers a display sample from his stock of satires. "I must needes bewray my store and set open my shoppe wyndowes," says he, quoting forthwith that "bolde Satyri[c]all Libell,"⁹ a poem in English hexameter verses entitled *Speculum Tuscanismi*, which was to be interpreted by Lyly as an attack on his patron, the Earl of Oxford. Together with the verses quoted in the 1592 volume, it gives some idea of the content of the projected book of satires.

Whatever may have been the considerations which prevailed upon Harvey not to go through with the publication, Spenser's sonnet and Harvey's reference to it make it plain that he had aroused the ire of his adversaries by circulating satires against them. The sonnet stands chronologically midway between the affray in 1580 between Harvey and a group of writers headed by Lyly and the full-scale war with Nashe which began twelve years later. Harvey had in all probability given Lyly and Greene much more reason than has commonly been supposed for their attacks upon him in *Pappe with a Hatchet* (1589) and *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), respectively. Spenser's reference to the "foolish reprehension Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat" is one unnoted indication, among others,¹⁰ not only of the continuity of the feuding between Harvey and the London wits, but also of the poet's staunch partisanship on Harvey's side.¹¹

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Vniuersitie men . . . London . . . 1580 (*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. E. De Selincourt, London, Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 612).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 625. The furor caused by this and other material in the pamphlet might well account for the lapse of six years before Harvey again even considered the publication of satires.

¹⁰ The present writer is preparing a full account of the Harvey-Nashe controversy.

¹¹ His willingness to sponsor the satires makes more understandable the complaint later voiced against Spenser by the author of *Greenes Funeralls* (1594) for actively supporting Harvey against Greene and others.

EDWARD FAIRFAX, A NATURAL SON

The question of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Edward Fairfax, the Elizabethan translator of Tasso,¹ has often been discussed. It is my present purpose to review the issue, and to give it what I trust will be a definitive answer.

The first piece of evidence is the *Visitation Pedigree* of 1585. It lists no Edward among the children of Thomas Fairfax by Dorothy Gale. Roger Dodsworth, writing in 1631, called Edward "natural brother of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, which Sir Thomas was created Lord Fairfax, and Baron of Cameron." This would seem at first conclusive. But at the time of Dodsworth's writing, *natural* could mean either legitimate or illegitimate.² Ralph Thoresby in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1715, places Edward and Charles among the sons of Sir Thomas, but connects them only with a line of dots, the customary method of indicating illegitimacy, "thus intimating there was something peculiar." (Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*). Sir Robert Douglas on the contrary, in 1764, states in his *Peerage of Scotland*, generally accurate, that Edward was the legitimate son of Sir Thomas by his wife Dorothy.³

With the argument in this state, one could believe as one pleased, but so long as the word *natural* was interpreted as *illegitimate*, the weight of authority fell on that arm of the balance. So Mrs. Cooper in *The Muses Library*, 1737;⁴ and so R. M. Milnes in his

¹ This poet, though considered today a minor figure, forms one of the most vital links in the evolution of English verse form, and has even been ranked with Spenser by Dryden and others.

² See *NED*. The last notes use of "natural" for "legitimate," is 1741; The first of "natural" for "illegitimate" is 1586.

³ "He [Sir Thomas] married Dorothy, daughter of George Gale . . . , by whom he had five sons and two daughters: 1, Sir Thomas, his heir, 2, Edward of Newhall, an excellent poet in the reign of King Charles I, author of several learned and ingenious treatises. He had several children; 3, Henry; 4, Ferdinando, both fied young; 5, Sir Charles Fairfax colonel of 3000 soldiers at the siege of Ostend . . . 1st daughter Ursula . . . 2nd Christian."

⁴ "Mr. Fairfax was the natural Son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton,

comment on *Daemonologia*, 1858.⁵ Charles Knight, however, editor of the 1817 and 1853 editions of Godfrey was in doubt, not knowing whether to believe Douglas or to accept the *natural* of Dodsworth, to which Brian Fairfax, by silence, had apparently acquiesced.

Then, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 14th, 1867, came the first conjecture that Dodsworth by "natural" might well have meant legitimate, the word being so used in Chapman. And finally Grainge, in his edition of *Daemonologia*, 1852, asserts the poet's legitimacy with as much warmth as if the bar sinister were in his own escutcheon: "But not to trifle, I believe with a little trouble I could place my hand on many authorities to prove that in Fairfax's day the word *natural* was used for *legitimate*, and *never* as at present used."⁶

At this point the argument has been left. Dodsworth, however (who of all the authorities named was most in a position to know the history of the Fairfax family) has plainly indicated the truth in a formerly unnoticed genealogy in the Bodleian (Ms Fairfax, d. 1). The MS. traces all branches of the Fairfax family, Gilling, Steton, Denton, etc. In the second large chart (pp. 4-5) of the houses of Steeton and Denton, Dodsworth mentions all the nine children of Sir William Fairfax, the poet's grandfather; but descending from Thomas, his son, and Dorathea, his wife, records only these: Thomas Fairfax of Denton, First Baron of Cameron; Ursula Fairfax, married Sir Henry Bellasis; Christiana Fairfax, married John Aske of Angleton; Ferdinando, died as a child; and Anna, died as a child. Neither Charles nor Edward appears. But in a more detailed table (p. 23) we have this:

and natural Brother to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the first who was created Baron of *Cameron* . . . 'tis so to be presumed, his Father took Care to support him in a Manner suitable to his own quality and his Son's Merit. He being always still'd *E. Fairfax*, Esq.; of *New Hall* . . ."

⁵ Philobiblon Soc. v, 1858-9: "The author, though illegitimate, was fully accepted as a member of the noble and historic family of Fairfax." Opinion on *natural* had by this time grown fixed.

⁶ So anxious was this editor to get his poet fairly into the illustrious Fairfax fold that he cold-bloodedly falsified his sources. (See footnote 8, following.)

Dorothea, daughter of Geo. Gale of Ashamgrainge and widow to Robert. She dies 38 Eliz 1596 and was buried at Denton.

Sir Thomas F. of Denton, Knight in the right of his mother. Next-heir to his brother Guy, but dis-sazid of his father's lands. Married Maria⁷ 1553. Knighted. . . May 2, 1579, 21 Eliz., died 42 Eliz., 1599, and buried at Denton, Etc.

Sir Thomas
Lord Fairfax, etc.

Ferdinand
Henry

Ursula Christiana
(Anna, dyed young)

Edward
Sr. Charles

The same sort of genealogy—we are told by George Johnson, editor of *The Fairfax Correspondence* (1848)—appears in the detailed compilation of Charles Fairfax, *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, though the officiousness of Grainge has obscured the matter.⁸ The *Analecta Fairfaxiana* itself is still in Ms. at Leeds Castle, and no editor since Johnson appears to have seen it. By fortune, however, there is in Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2146, a transcript by Brian Fairfax (f. 15) of this *Analecta Fairfaxiana* genealogy, enabling us to verify

⁷ I. e. In the first year of the reign of Mary.

⁸ In *The Fairfax Correspondence*, edited by George W. Johnson, 1848, we find in the introduction (p. xix): "Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, . . . had issue, Thomas, who succeeded him; Henry and Ferdinando, who died young; and two daughters. Colonel Charles Fairfax, . . . and Edward Fairfax, . . . were also sons of Sir Thomas Fairfax." A note follows: "In the *Analecta Fairfaxiana* drawn up by Mr. Charles Fairfax, grandson of Sir Thomas, who must have known the exact relationship of every member of the family, the issue of Sir Thomas is given in detail, as we have stated it above (i. e. *Thomas, Henry, Ferdinando, and two daughters*); after which follows enclosed in a parenthesis the names of Charles and Edward. . . . The inference apparently intended to be drawn from this form of exclusion is, that they were both natural children." Grainge quotes part of this verbatim, yet prefers distorting it to falsehood rather than admitting the poet's illegitimacy. He places Edward among the legitimate children, and then writes, as though he had seen the *Analecta* rather than the Johnson *Fairfax Correspondence*: "In the *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, drawn up by Mr. Charles Fairfax, grandson of Sir Thomas, who must have known the exact relationship of every member of the family, the issue of Sir Thomas is given in detail as we have stated above." This is not only a fabrication, but an obviously poor one, since Grainge makes it clear that Johnson's study, not the original *Analecta* was his source.

the Johnson account. This confirms the assumed illegitimacy. On the basis then of the Dodsworth genealogy and of the transcript from the *Analecta Fairfaxiana* we may be certain that the poet was not the son of Sir Thomas Fairfax by his wife Dorothy.

Yet despite his origin, it is clear that Edward was cared for and accepted into the family, though perhaps on an inferior plane.⁹

Some have conjectured that the circumstances of Fairfax's birth excluded him from political and military life, leaving him free in the pursuit of his studies.¹⁰ But since his younger brother, Sir Charles, born also of an obscure relation, became a famous soldier, a commander at the siege of Ostend, where he was afterwards killed, we may assume with more reason that Edward was led into retirement from inclination, not necessity. Brian Fairfax implies as much;¹¹ and indeed, this aspect of Fairfax's nature, his gentle modesty and love of retirement, is implicit in all his works—in *The Godfrey* itself; in the remaining eclogues, of which the original manuscript lay ten years neglected in his study; above all in the haunting passages of the *Daemonologia*, through which shines the whole character of the poet and of his quiet life in the solitudes of Knaresborough.

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⁹ Brian Fairfax tells us, "He was very serviceable to his brother my Lord Fairfax in the Education of his Children, the government of his family, and in all his affairs." This would indicate a position of esteem, but still of service. In the *Daemonologia* Edward speaks of "my brother, Sir Thomas Fairfax," and of a visit from him at Newhall on Feb. 22nd, 1622. We hear also of Sir Ferdinando Fairfax in the *Daemonologia*, and of his politeness to the poet's wife. And there is the will of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Edward's father, giving "to Edward Fairfax, at the request of my said son Sir Thomas Farfax, all that capital messuage called New Hall," etc.

¹⁰ So Milnes, *Philobiblon Miscellanies*, Vol. v.

¹¹ "While his brothers were thus honourably imployd abroad, he stayd at home at his Book, and thereby made himselfe fit for any employmt in Church or State, but an invincible modesty and love of a retired life made him prefer the shady groves and natural cascades of Denton and the forest of Knaresborou, before all the diversions of Court or Camp. He did not pass his time ignobili otio, as appears by the many valuable manuscripts he has left in the Library of my Lord F. at Denton, both in verse and prose." (Account to Atterbury, Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS., 5144.)

SHYLOCK'S POUND OF FLESH AND LABAN'S SHEEP

It has been generally accepted that the reason for Shylock's discourse on Jacob and the flocks of Laban was merely to justify his practice of usury through the example of his blessed forbear, Jacob.¹ Some critics have seen this speech as rambling and irrelevant to the discussion of the projected loan to Bassanio;² some see him as rising to heights of dignity and racial pride as he expounds reverently upon the Biblical tale.³ On the other hand, a surprising number of critics have completely ignored this speech in their comments on *The Merchant of Venice*, even when they write at length on Shylock's character and motives and this particular scene. The writer believes that the story of Jacob and Laban indicates Shylock's preoccupation with the problem of how he may feed his grudge against Antonio, how he may match the cunning of his ancestor, how he may collect interest without taking interest. He is groping for an idea as to what kind of bond he can take from Antonio which will answer these requirements.

Shylock's mind is not wandering from the issue between him and Antonio on usury, or from the fact that Antonio "neither lends nor borrows upon advantage," when he remarks thoughtfully:

When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep—
This Jacob from our holy Abraham was
(As his wise mother wrought in his behalf)
The third possessor; ay, he was the third—
(I, iii, 72-75).

Shylock pauses significantly, as if he were reviewing in his own mind the story of how Rebekah connived and Jacob lied to receive the blessing given by God to Abraham, which should have passed on

¹ J. O. Halliwell, *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1850), III, 344; Karl Elze, *Essays on Shakespeare* (London, 1874), p. 73; William W. Lloyd, *Critical Essays on Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1875), p. 103; Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (London, 1935), p. 270; E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (New York, 1927), p. 323; E. E. Stoll, *From Shakespeare to Joyce* (New York, 1944), p. 123.

² *New Exegesis of Shakespeare* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 234-235; Stoll, *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, p. 123.

³ F. W. Hawkins, *Life of Kean*, I (London, 1860), 124; *The Theatre* (December, 1879), p. 292; Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (2nd Series, London, 1930), p. 94.

to Isaac's first-born son. We can imagine Shylock's sly half-smile as he replies to Antonio's impatient question about Jacob:

Ant. And what of him? Did he take interest?

Shy. No, not take interest; not as you would say,
Directly interest (I, iii, 76-78).

Note that Shylock must accent the word "you"; Antonio would not say that Jacob took interest in the same sense that he was expecting Shylock to demand interest. Antonio is here concerned with money, and it was not in money that Jacob was paid. But Shylock would say that Jacob took interest! He continues firmly:

Mark what Jacob did.

When Laban and himself were compremis'd
That all the earlings which were streak'd and pied
Should fall as Jacob's hire . . . (I, iii, 78-81).

He uses the word *hire*; it is used in the Bible passage—but Shylock has another connotation in mind. It is to Antonio that he will hire his money, so it will earn its wages for him.

Shakespeare summarized in eleven lines the story of how Jacob trickily obtained for himself the better portion of his uncle Laban's cattle, sheep and goats. The Elizabethans knew this Biblical story well; they were accustomed to thinking of animals in connection with usury;⁴ they were used to thinking of animals as payment for services. Shylock herein finds the answer to his ruminations. Since Jacob took his wages in the form of flesh, Shylock would also take his in terms of flesh. Evilly he decides to practice trickery with human flesh as his ancestor did with animal flesh.

Antonio, though he might perhaps have been warned by this tale to suspect trickery, only inquires with impatience at the story, "Was this inserted to make interest good?" The Elizabethan conviction that "interest" was not "good" supplied the answer "No!" "Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?" Antonio

⁴Celeste Turner Wright, in a scholarly paper, "The Usurer's Sin in Elizabethan Literature," musters a great deal of evidence disclosing the widespread use of the idea in Elizabethan times that usury was against nature, since money could not breed as animals do. "This ancient argument, of course, explains why Antonio will not accept Shylock's analogy of breeding the 'barren metal' like rams and ewes. . . . The 'breeding' metaphor would appeal to the Elizabethans' love of a fanciful conceit" (*Studies in Philology*, xxxv [1938], 179-180).

adds. Traditionally livestock was recognized as a valid medium for payment; if flocks, or flesh, were hire, or money to Jacob, then to Shylock, also, money could be equivalent to flesh. Yes! his gold and silver equals ewes and rams, but to Antonio he gives an evasive answer: "I cannot tell; I make it breed as fast." Indirectly he admits that it is.⁵

That this story inspired Shylock with the idea of asking for Antonio's flesh as bond is proved, the writer believes, by his subsequent return to the idea of Laban's flocks, some seventy lines later. When final arrangements are about to be made for the signing of the bond, he craftily argues:

If he should break his day, what should I gain
By the exaction of the forfeiture?
A pound of man's flesh taken from a man
Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
As flesh of muttons, beefs or goats (I, iii, 64-68).

The audience knows that his "exaction of the forfeiture" would be a great, if most unlikely, victory for him; that for his devilish purpose this "pound of man's flesh taken from a man" would mean the death of the one whom he has sworn to undo. To put such a scheme into effect would call for machinations even cleverer than Jacob's. If he should win the forfeiture, he would avenge the insults to his "tribe," while gaining greater glory for his "sacred nation" by adding to their history of ingenious cozenage. And finally, there is the paraphrasing of Laban's cattle, sheep and goats in the "flesh of muttons, beefs and goats." In this one sentence Shylock links the idea of a pound of man's flesh with the flesh of Laban's flocks. Surely they originally became linked in his mind when he first brought forth this ancient story.

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⁵ Mr. H. B. Charleton, in the course of his lecture, "Shakespeare's Jew" (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XVIII [1934], 52) says: "Shylock's whole point is that, for the argument in question, gold and silver are exactly in the same kind as ewes and rams," but he applies this thought to an entirely different thesis than the one presented by the writer.

A THREE-WAY PUN IN *RICHARD II*

At the end of the deposition scene in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, when Bolingbroke orders, "Go some of you convey him [Richard] to the Tower," the deposed king replies, "Oh good: convey: Conveyers are you all, / That rise thus nimbly by a true Kings fall" (iv. i. 317).

Newbolt pointed out that Richard's pun on Bolingbroke's command is modeled on the Bishop of Coventry's retort at the end of the first scene of Marlowe's *Edward II* (I. i. 201).¹ King Edward, who hates the bishop for having effected the exile of Gaveston, orders that the prelate's properties be transferred to the returned favorite and calls, "Who's there? Convey this priest to the Tower." The bishop's reply, "True, true," is an implied pun on "convey," which meant both *conduct* and *thieve*.²

In a recent article³ Dr. R. D. Altick suggests that Richard's remark is a three-way pun—or at least a two-and-a-half way quibble—on "convey," referring not only to the obvious *conduct* and *thieve*, but to a comparison which Richard has drawn, some hundred and thirty lines earlier in the scene, between his situation and that of the lower bucket of Fortune's well, which fills with tears while the higher bucket (Bolingbroke) dances in the air. The "conveyers" of Richard's pun, says Dr. Altick, refers to these buckets.

The fact that Shakespeare was at pains to expand Marlowe's subtle "True, true" into two lines indicates that he intended the pun to be perfectly clear to his audience. Would he have supposed them capable of "getting" a pun alluding to an image over a hundred lines away? It might be argued that the actor playing Richard could have made the allusion clear with a gesture—though it must have been an elaborate one,—in which case the interpreta-

¹ Henry Newbolt (ed.), *Shakespeare's Richard the Second* (Oxford, 1912). In J. C. Smith (ed.), *Select Plays of Shakespeare*.

² *Convey* for *steal* goes back to 1460 (*NED*). For corroboration of Shakespeare's use of the word in this sense see *The Merry Wives of Windsor* I. iii. 32. "Convey" meaning *steal* in the sense of *abduct* appears also in *Henry VI* iv. vi. 81 and *Cymbeline* I. i. 63.

³ Richard D. Altick, "'Conveyers' and Fortune's Buckets in *Richard II*," *MLN*, LXI (March, 1946). 179-180.

tion of the pun must depend upon the usual Elizabethan meanings of "convey" and "conveyer."

As Dr. Altick observes, the first use of *conveyer* in the general sense of "a thing that conveys, or transmits," according to the *NED*, is from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621); while applied specifically "to various mechanical contrivances, e. g. for conveying grain, chaff, flour, etc. in a mill, timber to the wheel in a saw-mill," and so on, the word was first used, again according to the *NED*, in *Chamber's Encyclopedia* (1880). It might well be argued, of course, that the oral use of *conveyer* in the sense of bucket could have preceded the extant written use; but, though Shakespeare's only use of the form *conveyer* is that in the passage under discussion, his diction affords evidence that tends to refute Dr. Altick's interpretation. For a "means of transporting" Shakespeare's usual word is "conveyance."⁴

It is possible, nevertheless, that Shakespeare did intend a three-way pun in Richard's retort. The use of *convey* to mean "transfer or make over (as property) to another" goes back to 1485 (*NED*); and the form "conveyance" (meaning a deed by which property is transferred) appears in *Hamlet* (v. i. 118). It may be that Richard's retort to Bolingbroke involves a climactic pun on three meanings of *convey*, passing from *conduct*, through *transfer property*, to *thieve*.⁵ It is true that in *Richard II* the deposed king's reference to his "manors, rents, revenues" (iv. i. 212) is almost as far from his pun on "convey" as is his image of Fortune's buckets; but the audience would have been more likely to remember the fact of Richard's loss of suzerainty than a fanciful simile of his fallen state.

It must be noted that no third meaning of "convey" is necessary to the effectiveness of King Richard's retort—the pun on *conduct*—

⁴ Schmidt (*Shakespeare-Lexicon*, 1874) cites *The Merry Wives of Windsor* III. iii. 135 and *Coriolanus* v. i. 54.

⁵ Marlowe may have implied this same three-way pun in his Bishop of Coventry's "True, true"; for only seven lines before his order "Convey," King Edward has told Gaveston to "seize upon his [the bishop's] goods: Be thou lord bishop and receive his rents" (I. i. 193-194). It must be noted, however, that if Marlowe did intend "convey" to mean *transfer property* as well as *conduct* and *thieve*, that part of the pun seems to have been lost on King Edward, who, immediately following the bishop's "True, true," repeats: "But in the meantime, Gaveston, away / And take possession of his house and goods."

thieve is quite good enough. But it is possible that Shakespeare intended the lines at the close of the deposition scene to suggest the following:

Bolingbroke. Go some of you, *conduct* him to the Tower.

K. Richard. Oh good: *transfer my property to him*: *Thieves* are you all.*

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PANDARUS' HOUSE?: *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*,

III. ii; IV. ii; IV. iv

Where does Troilus meet Cressida? Modern editions of Shakespeare's play describe the trysting-place, with minor variations, first as "Pandarus' Orchard" (III. ii) and later as "A Court of Pandarus' House" (IV. ii) or as "Pandarus' House" (IV. iv)—all agreeing, however, that the house is the house of Pandarus and the orchard Pandarus' orchard. Theobald, in 1733, first gave a local habitation to these scenes and later editors have all echoed him most dutifully.

But the house is *not* Pandarus' house, nor is the orchard Pandarus' orchard. The text seems perfectly clear on this point. In IV. i. 37 (Oxford text) Cressida is referred to as being at "Calchas' house" and in the opening lines of III. ii Troilus tells Pandarus that he stalks about "her" door. Again in IV. iii. 5 he asks the deputation who have come to fetch Cressida to "walk into her house." Nor is there any question of two different locales involved.

* That "conveyer" means "thieves" and not "transferrers of property" is corroborated by the history of the word. The use of *conveyer* as meaning one who transfers property did not occur, according to the *NED*, before Nathaniel Bacon's *Historical Discovery of the Uniformity of the Government of England from Edward III to Elizabeth* (1647); and there the word refers to one who transfers his own property to another: "Where Lands were conveyed by writing or act of the party . . . the Will of the Conveyer should be strictly observed." The only passage cited by the *NED* as evidence of the use of *conveyor* to mean thief is this line from *Richard II*, but the common use of the verb *convey* for *steal* in Shakespeare's time (see footnote 2) suggests a wider use of the derivative noun than is indicated by extant records.

Moreover, in iv. ii, Cressida, acting as one would expect the mistress of the house to act, tells her uncle to go and see who is knocking at the door and asks Troilus to come once again into "my" chamber. The "my" is, I think, significant because one of the two passages (both spoken by Pandarus) which can be advanced to show that Pandarus is "at home" would suggest that the room in which Troilus and Cressida had passed the night was strange to both of them ("Whereupon I will show you a chamber with a bed" [III. ii. 215-16]). Here, however, Pandarus is obviously pointing up his professional capacity for the benefit of the audience. Nevertheless the second passage (iv. ii. 55-56) suggests even more strongly that Pandarus actually is "at home." Here then is an apparent contradiction, but the answer seems obvious enough, though Shakespeare nowhere makes the matter clear. In the absence of Calchas, Pandarus is living in Calchas' house and "looking after" Calchas' daughter. But it is Calchas' house, not Pandarus'. Dryden, when he came to re-work the play (1679), saw the confusion and quite simply tidied up the loose ends:

It was to bring this *Greek* to *Calchas's* house,
Where *Pandarus* his Brother, and his Daughter
Fair *Cressida* reside. . . .¹

Then, having done so, a few lines later he cheerfully speaks of "Pandarus his house."

One suspects that Theobald's original error was caused in part by the confusing opening of III. ii, where Pandarus, for the purpose of setting the exact locale of the scene to follow, asks whether Troilus is "at my Cousin Cressida's" and is told by Troilus' Boy that he is not, but waits to be conducted "thither" (meaning from Cressida's orchard into Cressida's house); and in part by the influence of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* where the first ill-fated meeting is most carefully engineered by Pandarus at his own house (Book III. 512 ff.). That the ghost of Chaucer, abetted by the usual scene designation of modern texts, is still lurking in the background with intent to mislead is clearly shown by the following comment from R. A. Small's *The Stage Quarrel* (1899). Discussing "contradictions" in the play which had been pointed out by Stache,² he writes:

¹ *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Montague Summers, 1932, v, 65.

² E. Stache, *Das Verhältnis von Shakespeares Troilus und Cressida zu Chaucers gleichnamigen Gedicht*, 1893.

Cressida is in Calchas' house in iv, 1. 37, but in Pandar's in iv, 2, 53 [55-56]. This is not, rightly considered, a contradiction at all; for in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, the source of this part of the play, Cressida ordinarily resides at Calchas' house, but her first night with Troilus is spent at Pandar's. This is exactly the condition of things in our play.⁸

As I have tried to show there is no "contradiction" at this point in the play—but not for the reason suggested by Small.

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JONSON AND DRUMMOND OR GIL ON THE KING'S SENSES

Among the poems of doubtful authenticity in the latest edition of the works of William Drummond of Hawthornden is one entitled *For the Kinge*.¹ It comes from Manuscript 19. 3. 8 in the Advocates' Library, where it is not expressly assigned to Drummond. It appears in the 1711 edition of the poet's works in a form unlike that in the manuscript; there are minor variants, two of the stanzas are transposed, and, most strikingly, it is in English, while the manuscript form is in Scots. There are six stanzas of twelve or fourteen lines in couplets. The first five are devoted each to one of the five senses and the last is headed *Epiloge*. Drummond's authorship has been questioned on the ground that the satire on the king is too severe for Drummond to have written it.² This argument is persuasive, though one should observe that Drummond did not print these lines so at variance with *Forth Feasting* and with the sonnet on King James' death beginning *Let holie David*. He and his friends, moreover, did have some reservations about King James. Sir William Alexander, not always happy at court in England, complained of his royal master; in his reply Drummond went far toward comparing King James with Nero.³ Does it hint

⁸ Pages 149-50.

¹ *The Poetical Works of William Drummond*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Manchester, 1913), 2. 296-9, 415-6.

² *The Poems of William Drummond*, ed. Wm. C. Ward (New York, 1894), 2. 328.

³ David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1873), p. 120.

at lack of enthusiasm at least that his history of the Jameses dealt only with the first five, even though at its end he refers to James VI as "matchless"? It has also been suggested that Charles rather than James is the king in question.⁴ Moreover, in his published work Drummond carefully used English rather than Scottish forms.⁵ In his posthumous poems, however, Scottish forms appear, though not in such abundance as in *For the Kinge*.

Recently it was pointed out that after the murder of Buckingham in 1628 part of the poem was found among the papers of Alexander Gil and entered into evidence because of which he was condemned to be fined and lose his ears.⁶ This suggests Gil as the author of the lines. But would a Londoner have written in Scottish? Would some Scot have put the verses into the form we have in the manuscript? The normal, though perhaps not the necessary, assumption is that the manuscript version is the original one and that it was written by a Scotchman.

The most striking analogue is the Patrico's song in Ben Jonson's *Gypsies Metamorphos'd*.⁷ This is like the manuscript version in the order of the senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch) and in the refrain

Blesse the soveraigne, and his *seeinge*.

In the Scottish poem it is

Blis my soveraigne & his seing.

The refrain of the Epiloge is

Heavens blisse my soveraign and his senses,

which in the *Gypsies* appears as

Bless ye soveraigne, and his sences (1326).

The content of the stanzas is quite different. The nature of this masque is such as to suggest traditional and popular sources. Was Ben acquainted with verses of blessing on his ruler's senses? One

⁴ Kastner, *ed. cit.*, 2. 415.

⁵ Masson, pp. 31-2, 226; Kastner, *ed. cit.*, 1. xii.

⁶ Donald Leman Clark, "Milton's Schoolmasters: Alexander Gil and his Son Alexander," *Huntington Library Quarterly* IX (1946), 139-41.

⁷ In Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, in the section on *The Soul of Man* (sub-section *The Power of Sense*) there are stanzas on the five senses in the order of the manuscript poem. The theme is a common one.

possibility is that Drummond showed the manuscript poem—whether his own or another's—to his English guest in January, 1619. *The Gypsies Metamorphos'd* was presented in 1621. Is the Patrico's song a reminiscence of Jonson's visit to Hawthornden?

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MILTON'S LETTER TO GILL, MAY 20, 1628

Milton's letter to Alexander Gill the Younger dated "*Londino*, Maii 20. 1628" discusses a poem by Gill describing it as majestic and Vergilian in spirit, celebrating in sonorous and triumphant strain the famous capture of an unnamed city by Henry of Nassau. Milton also congratulates Gill on breaking, in the writing of this poem, an apparently recent resolution to abandon the composition of verse. Scholars have accepted the published date of 1628 for this letter, Tillyard believing that Milton refers to Groll, a town which Frederick-Henry of Nassau captured in 1627.¹ He and others have also considered the letter significant as evidence of Milton's early interest in political affairs. Since, however, all such conclusions depend upon verses by Gill as yet unidentified, it would seem important to discover, if possible, what poem is being discussed.

In 1632 Gill published a collection of his verse entitled *Parerga sive poetici conatus*, containing as one of the longest and most impressive pieces in it a poem entitled "In Sylvam-Ducis, a Batavis occupatam Mense Sept. 1629" (on Sylva-Ducis, taken by the Dutch in the month of September 1629). This poem celebrates the capture of Hertogenbosch (French *Bois le Duc*, Latin *Sylva-Ducis*) by Frederick-Henry of Nassau on September 14, 1629, a victory very pleasing to the English who had been apprehensive concerning the four veteran English troops participating in the siege and who had been hoping for such an event to humble the successful Spanish general Spinola. This poem, which fits closely the description of the poem in Milton's letter,² was probably written late in 1629 or

¹ Phyllis B. and E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises* (1932), p. 124.

² "In Sylvam-Ducis" is pointed out by Gill himself in the preface to his 1632 *Parerga* as one of his better efforts. Most of the poem is devoted to

early in 1630. No poem by Gill on the capture of Groll in 1627 has survived in print or (so far as I can ascertain) in manuscript.

If the poem described by Milton is assumed to be a poem on Groll, certain questions must be answered. First, why is such a poem not included in the *Parerga* or among the numerous manuscript versions of Gill's verse? Second, why was Milton's letter sent to Gill from London although Milton was, presumably, studying at Cambridge in 1628 and Gill himself was teaching at St. Paul's School in London?³ Third, what is meant by the reference in Milton's letter to Gill's resolution to quit poetic composition? Such a resolution (for which Milton is our only source) was probably made by Gill after his trouble with the Star Chamber in November 1628, when certain libellous verses were uncovered and identified as his. The *Parerga* reveals a conspicuous poetic inactivity between 1628 and 1630, broken only by three poems, all of a private nature.⁴ "In Sylvam-Ducis" is the first poem of a public nature to appear after this inactivity and may well have been the first poem that Gill asked Milton to criticize since his imprisonment of 1628.

There is convincing evidence that Milton's letter preceding this one in the 1674 edition of the *Familiar Letters* is incorrectly dated, belonging to 1627, rather than to 1625.⁵ Is there not here also another error involving two years to be noted? If the correct date is May 20, 1630 (instead of 1628), Milton was not in Cam-

Frederick-Henry's exploits in the taking of the city. Classical allusions deepen the solemn tone. Details of battle are treated in almost epic fashion: vast waterworks and mining destroy the walls which burst asunder, causing earth and sky, swamp and housetops, to mingle in horrendous confusion; the soldiers storm the shattered walls with Frederick-Henry in their midst, while Maurice of Nassau watches from a distant star, much as the ancient gods watched the siege of Troy.

³ Gill seems to have taught at St. Paul's under his father from 1621 until late in 1628, when he lost his position as a result of his trouble with the Star Chamber. May 20, 1628, fell within the Easter Term (April 23-July 4) at Cambridge.

⁴ The first of these is dated December 30, 1628, and was written by Gill and sent by messenger to Cornelius Fairmeadow at whose father-in-law's estate Gill was helping to celebrate a birthday. The other two are dated May 31 and June 3, 1629, and were written as humorous poems to Nicholas Cartmel who was with Gill in prison.

⁵ See W. R. Parker's "Milton and Thomas Young," *MLN*, LIII (June, 1938), 399-407.

bridge (closed by the plague in April 1630), and his letter could have been sent from London to Gill also in London, for Gill was presumably still in prison and was not pardoned until November 30 of this same year. Milton's reference then, to a prosperous turn in "our own affairs" may be his discreet way of suggesting the hope that the political tyranny responsible for Gill's imprisonment will soon be decreased or abolished.

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A SOURCE FOR *LYCIDAS*, 154-158

In the 1673 edition (and the 1645 edition except for immaterial differences of spelling and punctuation) lines 154-158 of *Lycidas* read as follows:

Ay me! Whilst thee the shores, and sounding Seas
Wash far away, where ere thy bones are hurl'd,
Whether beyond the stormy *Hebrides*
Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;

This is also the reading of the first edition of 1638, except that in line 157 the word "whelming" appears as "humming."

The only comment on this revision that I have seen is to be found buried in a characteristically diffuse and disorganized note in Todd's edition (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 1826, v. 48). Todd says: "In the manuscript, and the edition of 1638, it is '*humming* tide,' in reference to the distant sound of the waters over his head while he was exploring 'the *bottom* of the monstrous world' . . . By every person accustomed to diving, the propriety of this epithet is fully understood. . . . Milton altered *humming* to *whelming*, as *Lycidas* was *now* dead."

This interpretation is highly improbable. Milton makes no allusion to swimming as a sport; he says nothing of the waterfront life of London; and until he returned from his continental tour, he hardly refers to the sea at all. It is almost certain, then, that in this description he was not drawing upon his personal experience.

He was, however, extremely likely to draw upon his reading, especially in *Lycidas*. I suggest that the source is Shakespeare's *Pericles*, III. 1. 57-65 (for the passage in question is surely Shakes-

pearean). Among various irrelevant parallels Todd quotes one line from this play, "And humming water must o'erwhelm thy corpse," but fails to see its significance. The complete excerpt should make the matter clear. Pericles is standing beside the body of his wife, Thaisa, who has died in childbirth during a severe storm at sea:

A terrible childbed hast thou had, my dear;
No light, no fire. Th'unfriendly elements
Forgot thee utterly; nor have I time
To give thee hallow'd to thy grave, but straight
Must cast thee, scarcely coffin'd in the ooze;
Where, for a monument upon thy bones,
And e'er-remaining lamps, the belching whale
And humming water must o'erwhelm thy corpse
Lying with simple shells.

Aside from the close parallelism in the general situation, there are significant details: 1) the adjective "humming"; 2) the phrase "belching whale," which might well have suggested the "monstrous world"; 3) the word "ooze." Some twenty lines later in *Lycidas* (line 175) we read "With *Nectar* pure his oozy Lock's he laves." Clearly Shakespeare is still in Milton's mind. The word "humming" in Shakespeare and in Milton has no reference to the sound of the waves for someone under their surface, but carries more or less the meaning of "murmuring."

Milton made the revision because he noticed that in line 154 he had used the phrase "the sounding Seas," and that "the humming tide" was a weaker repetition of the same thought. Accordingly he went back, perhaps unconsciously, to *Pericles* and took the word "whelming," a much stronger and better epithet, from the word "o'erwhelm" which occurs *in the same line* as his first word "humming." This explanation postulates a procedure highly characteristic of Milton, and seems likely, therefore, to be the correct one.

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ETHEREGE'S JULIA

During his residence at Ratisbon, Sir George Etherege engaged in a liaison with an actress whose christian name according to Edmund Gosse was Julia.¹ Mr. Gosse had probably read the manu-

¹ *Seventeenth Century Studies* (1883), ed. of 1914, p. 289.

script of Etherege's letterbook rather hastily, and may be forgiven his mistake. However, subsequent biographers and editors of Etherege, including Sybil Rosenfeld who edited the *Letterbook* in 1928, have perpetuated the mistake.² The name of the actress is of no importance; it is important that a misreading of Etherege should be corrected.

Etherege refers to the actress five times in the *Letterbook*, but never by name.³ He calls her "a comedian," a "plain Bavarian," or "a player." Hughes, his treacherous secretary, makes much of the liaison in two long accounts of the affair,⁴ but he too refers to her only as a "comedian."

The name "Julia" appears only in a letter to Mr. Cooke, dated November 28, 1687. Deploring his exile from London, Etherege makes the obvious comparison with Ovid:

My weak fancy may well suffer here when the noble genius of Ovid was dejected at Pontus; and you cannot but forgive the fondness I have for London should I cry out when I shut this letter: *Hei mihi quod Domino non licet ire tuo.* In the meantime I comfort myself as well as I can, forget Julia and suit my inclinations to the diversissements the climate affords, the best of which is hunting.

Manet sub iove frigido.

Venator tenerae coniugis immemor.

Pray be not so malicious to let the meaning of this come to my wife's ear.⁵

This letter, the only one in the collection addressed to Cooke, was written about a year after Etherege's adventure with the comedian. There is nothing in the context to indicate that "Julia" refers to the player; on the contrary, the intimation is that "Julia" is someone from whom Etherege is exiled. The key to the passage is the parallel between the situation of Etherege, relegated to a cold land among a barbarian people, and that of Ovid,

² See *The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege*, pp. 117, 328, 388-94. Among others who have accepted "Julia" as the name of the actress are John Palmer, *The Comedy of Manners*, 1913, pp. 47-53; E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Restoration Rakes*, 1926, p. 140; and H. F. B. Brett-Smith, *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, 1927, I, xliii, xlv, xlvii, xlix.

³ *Letterbook*, pp. 117, 130, 190, 328, 338.

⁴ *Letterbook*, pp. 388, 390.

⁵ *Letterbook*, p. 293. The first quotation is from Ovid, *Tristia*, I, i, 2; the second is from Horace, *Carmina*, I, i, 25-6.

exiled to Tomis on the Black Sea.⁶ According to the general belief of the seventeenth century, Ovid had been banished because he had dared to make love to Julia, the daughter of Augustus Caesar. Sandys was probably the immediate source of the old legend that Ovid was punished "for his too much familiarity with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, masked under the name of Corinna."⁷ Dryden had ridiculed the story,⁸ but tradition dies hard. A generation accustomed to the fiction, and acquainted with poetical references to it (such as Aphra Behn's "Ovid to Julia")⁹ would have immediately recognized the name of Julia in connection with Ovid as Etherege intended it. "Julia," therefore, must not be taken as the name of a real person, but as a literary allusion, and, perhaps at most, as a symbol for some of "those kind charming creatures London affords,"¹⁰ for whom the amorous dramatist sighed in vain.

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WHY WAS CHAUCER SENT TO MILAN IN 1378?

On May 10, 1378, Chaucer was given letters of protection to the court of Bernabo Visconti, on the King's service. It was a secret mission, having to do with "certain affairs touching with the expedition of the King's wars." Why was Chaucer (the most important member of the mission) sent at this particular time to the court of a powerful Milanese lord, a tyrant who cowed the papacy?

⁶ The parallel had been drawn by an anonymous satirist much earlier, when Etherege had gone to Turkey in 1668 as a diplomat's secretary:

Ovid to Pontus sent for too much Wit;
Eth'rdge to Turkey, for the want of it.

Letterbook, p. 9.

⁷ *Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished*, 1632, "Life of Ovid." Modern scholars agree that there was nothing to the story, and that, as one put it, "Ovid's offense was connected with the adultery which the Emperor's granddaughter Julia is known to have committed with Junius Silvanus in the same year, A. D., 8." See H. F. Frankel, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds*, 1945, p. 113.

⁸ Preface to the translation of Ovid's *Epistles*, 1680.

⁹ Aphra Behn's *Miscellany*, 1685, p. 265.

¹⁰ Etherege to Buckingham, *Letterbook*, p. 416.

All evidence points to a momentous mission (more than conveyed in the document), one involving a crisis in the history of western civilization, involving in fact the very fate of England itself.

Just forty-four days before—and therefore time enough for the important news to reach London—Pope Gregory XI had died. His death, which would inevitably affect the outcome of the Hundred Years' War, was the reason why Chaucer was sent to Milan: Gregory was French-born, but had returned to Rome from Avignon, despite the protest of the French king, only the year before. One reason for his removal to Italy was the fact that the Florentines had recently (1375) allied themselves with the old foe of the papacy, Bernabo Visconti.

In every sense of the word this was a momentous time, the eve of that terrifying crisis, the Great Schism. For England it was especially so: her morale weakened by internal dissensions and the long war had reached low ebb, what with the death of the beloved heir to the throne, the Black Prince (followed by the passing of his senile father, Edward III), and the ascendance of a young king to the throne; the recent losses in France including even Aquitaine; the threatened invasion by the foreign foe; empty tills, the result of flagrant graft in high places; the growing restlessness of the commons and an awakening nationalism, with its consequent tide of clerical opposition.

Yet at this crucial hour in England's domestic and foreign history, it was thought safe by those in authority (Gaunt, it is to be remembered, was the power behind the throne) to send Chaucer into a labyrinth of intrigues in seething Italy, to entrust him with England's welfare, economic, political, religious.

Surely we can glimpse something of Chaucer the man and poet in his diplomatic role: humor, gaiety, the ability to see the funny side of higher things, the artful jest—a diplomat's greatest weapon; suavity, urbanity, casualness; tact, patience, spirit of compromise such as does not appear in the Nordic vehemence of Wycliffe; astuteness and knowledge of men, a divine commonsense; worldly yet religious; integrity, public honor, a sense of responsibility; vision and practical idealism based on hard facts and realism; ability to "charm the bark off a tree"; a cool detachment and sense of irony; a cosmopolitanism all the more impressive when compared with Langland and Gower; loyalty to the state, the repre-

sentative in fact of a rising middle class—the first case in English literary annals of an illustrious lay servant who was also an eminent man of letters.

But some of these qualities are reflected in Chaucer's poetry, poems cherished by generations of readers.

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THE SUBSCRIBERS OF GRIMM'S *CORRESPONDANCE LITTÉRAIRE*

A complete list of Grimm's subscribers has never been revealed. The first edition of the *Correspondance* in which there were many gaps was published in 1812 by Buisson, based on a manuscript which he had purchased from an unknown source.¹ This manuscript is thought to have contained a note indicating the following subscribers: "l'impératrice de Russie, la reine de Suède, le roi de Pologne, la duchesse de Saxe-Gotha, le duc des Deux-Ponts, la princesse héréditaire de Hesse-Darmstadt, le prince George de Hesse-Darmstadt, et la princesse de Nassau-Saarbruck."² This list has been repeated by later editors of the *Correspondance*.³

In discussing the question of subscribers in her sensational work on Rousseau in 1906, Mrs. Frederika MacDonald reproduced, from a supposedly unknown manuscript among Grimm's papers at the Bibliothèque nationale, a list of paid subscriptions for the years 1763-1766.⁴ André Cazes, in his recent book on Grimm, has given Mrs. MacDonald full credit for this revealing discovery and reproduced her findings.⁵ The presence in that list of the names of some of Grimm's close friends (for example, Diderot, Helvétius, M. and Mme Necker, and M. de la Live) led me to suspect that it could

¹ Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, II, 230-231, note of M. Tourneux.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, and Taschereau edition I, iii.

⁴ Frederika MacDonald, *Jean Jacques Rousseau, a New Criticism*, I, 39-40: "But I am printing here for the first time a list given in a document that will be found amongst Grimm's papers preserved at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, of the *abonnés* who had paid their subscriptions during the years 1763-1766: . . ."

⁵ André Cazes, *Grimm et les Encyclopédistes*, pp. 43-44.

hardly be a record of Grimm's subscribers. It is a well known fact that the *Correspondance littéraire* was circulated outside of France, and that many of Diderot's contributions to it (e.g., *Le rêve de d'Alembert*) remained unknown in France until the following century.⁶ A careful comparison of Mrs. MacDonald's list with a list of subscribers to a print for the benefit of the Calas family (published by Maurice Tourneux in his edition of the *Correspondance*, from a manuscript which is also in the Bibliothèque nationale)⁷ reveals some striking similarities. All names in Mrs. MacDonald's list are found there, with identical amounts subscribed in almost every case. It seems certain that Mrs. MacDonald has given an incomplete copy of the same manuscript in view of the fact that her list does not total the amount indicated at the bottom. The Tourneux list is followed by a receipt signed on December 31, 1766 by Anne-Rose Cabibel Calas and concerns in no way the identity of Grimm's subscribers.

The whereabouts of the manuscripts purchased by Buisson and used for the edition of 1812 remain unknown. Tourneux used manuscripts in the Ducal Museum at Gotha, at the Bibliothèque nationale and at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris and in the State Archives in Moscow.⁸ Another manuscript, which belonged to Queen Louise Ulrique of Sweden, is to be found in the Royal Library in Stockholm, but it contains material only for the years 1763 and 1772 and reveals nothing concerning Grimm's subscribers.⁹ Diderot's daughter is thought to have possessed a series of copies of the *Correspondance* along with all the works of her father.¹⁰ The inventory of Grimm's own library, seized at the time of the Revolution, reveals thirty-four packages of papers unworthy of description. These may have contained copies of the *Correspondance*,¹¹ but no trace of them is now to be found.¹² Thus

⁶ Cf. Herbert Dieckmann, *MLN*, LIII (1938), 485.

⁷ Grimm, *op. cit.*, XVI, 260: Mss., fr. nouv. acq. 1185.

⁸ Grimm, *op. cit.*, I, ii (note of M. Tourneux) and VIII, 224, note 2.

⁹ J. Viktor Johansson, *Etudes sur Denis Diderot*, p. 201.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹ Charles Nisard, *Mémoires et correspondances historiques et littéraires, 1726-1816*, p. 93: In a letter to Suard, Meister mentioned the existence of fifteen or sixteen copies of the *Correspondance*, one of which he thought might have been among Grimm's papers.

¹² Grimm, *op. cit.*, XVI, 506 (note of M. Tourneux).

the only clue to the identity of Grimm's subscribers is in the lost manuscript on which Buisson based the first published edition.

The review of Mrs. MacDonald's book by Gaspard Vallette in the *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*¹³ pointed out many errors, but this one did not come to light. It is interesting that Mrs. MacDonald, throughout her two volumes, constantly praises the excellent edition of M. Tourneux. She defends Rousseau against the charges of Sainte-Beuve and Schérer by stating that

Critics would not take the trouble to really study Grimm's *Literary Correspondence*: and no other information about his personality lay open to them but two directly opposite accounts, the one given in the *Memoirs*, the other in the *Confessions*.¹⁴

It is regrettable that Mrs. MacDonald herself did not "take the trouble to really study Grimm's *Literary Correspondence*," especially in the Tourneux edition.

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MATTHEW ARNOLD AND THE POWIS MEDAL AT CAMBRIDGE

In *Literature and Dogma* Matthew Arnold indulges in a satiric jest at the expense of the University of Cambridge. He mildly rebukes the authorities of that institution for setting up publicly the idea of pleasure, life, and fecundity—the Lucretian *hominum divomque voluptas, alma Venus*—as "an object for their scholars to fix their minds upon and to compose verses in honour of." He then pictures a procession composed of Vice-chancellor, bedels, masters, and scholars proceeding solemnly to the temple of Aphrodite, in spite of the efforts of Thomas Rawson Birks, Professor of Moral Philosophy, momentarily to restrain them—before he himself joins in the throng, "his brows crowned with myrtle and scarcely a shade of melancholy on his countenance."¹

Within a fortnight after the appearance of the book in the middle of February, 1873, a Cantabrigian signing himself "An Authority

¹³ *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, 1907, III, 256-267.

¹⁴ Frederika MacDonald, *op. cit.*, II, 79-80.

¹ *Literature and Dogma* (London, 1873), pp. 36-37.

in a Small Way" wrote to the *Spectator*, protesting (1) that the Earl of Powis, donor of the medal for the best poem in Latin hexameter verse, and not the University, was responsible for the choice of subject from the first two lines of the *De Rerum Natura* and (2) that the prize-winning poem which Arnold had in mind "contains nothing which the sweetest or more prudish of the Sons or Daughters of Light could reasonably object to."²

The winner of the Powis Medal in 1872 was Samuel Henry Butcher (1850-1910). He "survived the wiles of Alma Venus and his Alma Mater," says Mr. E. Harrison, Registrar of the University of Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for this identification, and became, by a pleasing irony, the well-known translator of Homer and Aristotle and worker in the Arnoldian tradition of sweetness and light.

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REVIEWS

Dictionary of Word Origins. By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945. Pp. xii + 430.

This book is made up of a short preface, the dictionary, and three appendices, one on doublets, another on words from names, and the third on given names, their sources and meanings. We are told on the cover that "Dr. Shipley's dictionary provides one of the best aids to an authentic knowledge of the English language because it deals with the history, the origins, the backgrounds, and the psychological usage of words instead of merely factual meanings." This seems to be a fair statement of Dr. Shipley's aims, though he does not himself claim as much in his preface, and he does add an important qualification there, of which the title gives no inkling, viz., that "of this great gathering of words [i. e. the rich and cosmopolitan English vocabulary] I have set down those that have origins at once interesting and enlightening."

To get an idea of Dr. Shipley's selective principle I compared his list from *babble* to *bazooka* with Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary*. Dr. Shipley writes articles here for 26 words, and for another 48

²"Mr. Arnold and the Cambridge Dignitaries," *The Spectator*, XLVI (March 1, 1873), 276.

words he has references to other articles in the book. However, the following, mostly common words, were lacking: *back, bad, balance, balcony, ballad, ballast, ballet, balm, balsam, bamboo, bane, banish, banner, bard, barometer, baroque, barrow, bass, batter, bawd*. In this list I am skipping, too, several uncommon words that Shipley had not taken.

Yet, it has obviously been Dr. Shipley's practice to list the uncommon, hard words, preferably if they are learned or if they are what he considers picturesque. His list of elements is a case in point, but in addition one can glean such flowers as *abuccinate, amphigoury, anacampserote, bergamask, bombinate, curmudgeon, googol, jobation, kerplunk, niminy-piminy, orotund, panjandrum, pygophagous, serendipity, schlemihl, zymurgy*.

On the other hand we look in vain for some of the simplest and oldest words in the language, such as the pronouns (except *ye* because of *ye olde shoppe*), the articles *a* and *the*, the common adverbs *here, there; yes* and *no*, not even *O yeah*, which one would think might appeal to the facetious author. *And, bad, big, end, eye, ear, father, fetch, get, give, idle, ill, meat, name, nose, rain, same, say, sea, see, sister, sing, snow, tail, toe, ware, way* are all words conspicuous by their absence.

Some other very common words are listed, to be sure, but only with a reference to another article where the chances are that they are mentioned only in passing. Thus *be*, see *fetus*; *have*, see *expose*; *hand*, see *pylorus*. These words, the backbone of the language, do not interest Dr. Shipley, I suspect, because they "just grewed," as he says in his preface. In the same preface Dr. Shipley talks about "the basic democratic process in the shaping of speech." That poses the question whether Dr. Shipley's taste is democratic or whether we shall convict him of the snobbery that Jespersen finds rampant in the English language. At any rate his book should perhaps rather have been entitled *A Selective Dictionary of Word Origins*.

A closer view of the articles themselves soon reveals that this is no ordinary lexicographical work. The articles deal not only with related words, nor only with words of similar meaning (synonyms), nor only with words of similar forms (homonyms), but all these associations, and more tenuous ones to boot, are employed by the author in writing his sketches, little essays that are supposed to be illuminating and funny at the same time. Two samples will illustrate the light style: "The man who colors cloth says *We dye to live*," and "While *run* is found in AS. *rinnan*, *yrnan* it is not common . . . we probably took it from ON. *rinna*, *renna*; up in the north cold folk have to keep moving fast."

This last instance brings up the question how reliable this lexicographer is. We are told that "here is an authentic as well as lively dictionary," and we see no reason why it could not be so, though

the man who sacrifices a methodical approach to a difficult subject has not only a harder time to keep the matter straight, but also might fall into the error of confusing the reader instead of enlightening him.

I shall not check the new words of which Dr. Shipley gives the origin as well as the originator, if he knows him. Right or wrong, these etymologies cannot be overlooked by scholars and to that extent they are a contribution. For old and well established etymologies Dr. Shipley should have been able to base his book on the NED and other good etymological works. Actually I have found many samples in good and reliable agreement with the NED. Neither have I, in my cursory reading, spotted any flagrant misuse or mutilation of the familiar Latin material for instance. But one expects of an English etymologist that even if he does not know Middle English, Old English (AS.) and the Germanic (Teutonic) dialects as well as his Latin, at least he should have a clear general idea of the interrelationship of these languages and their relationship to English. But it seems to me that whenever Dr. Shipley abandons the guidance of his sources and tries combination on his own, his mind has more the characteristics of the famous American meltingpot (to which he pays due if indirect tribute in his preface) than the qualities of discerning common sense combined with that minimum of linguistic know-how without which the tracking of words becomes a meaningless procedure.

A glance at his introductory notes is illuminating in this respect. His statement of Grimm's law might have been clearer, but it is at any rate essentially correct. But what shall one say to an etymologist who thinks that *angel* shows a dissimilation as compared with Gr. *aggelos*, and who defines *cognate* as follows: "not immediately related, but from the same source. Italian and French are cognate languages, both from Latin; *fatherly* and *paternal* are cognates, the first via AS through OHG *fatar*, the second via L. through Gr. *pater*, both from a word akin to Sanskrit *pitar*, father." This vagueness in tracing the history of words crops up every now and then. It is well illustrated by his explanation of *oil*: "for *oil* is from AS. *ele* from OFr. *oile*, etc."

Within the Germanic (Teutonic) languages this muddled linguistic thinking is still more obvious. Of *odd* he says: "The development of this word has been *odd*. It was OHG *ort*, point, angle. By the time this came to OE as *odde*, it had already acquired the sense of the odd point of the triangle. . . ." It would, in the parlance of Dr. Shipley, be an odd fellow, who from reading this enlightening history of the word would know that the word in question was actually found in most of the Germanic languages: in OE as *ord*, in OHG as *ort*, in OSax as *ord*, and in OScandinavian (ON. = OIcel.) as *oddr* and that from this last-named source the word was introduced into ME (not OE!).

Old Norse, by the way, is not one of Dr. Shipley's strong points.

Under *berserk* he tells us "The Scandinavian hero Beserk . . . had twelve sons, Beserkers . . . ;" this is news to the Scandinavians. Under *blatherskite* he talks of "ON *blathr*, to talk nonsense;" the translation shows that he intended the verb *blaðra*. Under *blot* he mistranslates ON *spotti*, under *butt* he quotes Icelandic *blacka* 'to flutter,' but it should be *blaka*, as he would have discovered had he read the NED a little more carefully. His comments on the second element of *blatherskite* show that he is unaware of the etymological value of the doublets *sh-*: *sk-* in English.

Now it may be unfair to examine Dr. Shipley too closely on the Scandinavian source material of the English language. But keeping strictly within the limits of English, I shall adduce his new and better etymology of *Anglo-Saxon*. The old etymology may be all right, he admits, "but more than Germanophobes point out that when the Teutons came to the British Islands, they found the *Gaels* (Celts) already there, and they used the Celtic term for them, *an-gael*, *the Gael*; whence the name of the land and the language." It probably makes no difference to Dr. Shipley that the NED tells us that *Gael* is a late (1810) adoption from Scotch Gaelic *Gaidheal*—Old Irish *Gaidel* or *Goidel*.

As an instance of what may happen to Dr. Shipley when he tries his hand at morphology we quote his comments on *fell*: "As with other causal forms, this is the past tense of the simple verb: *fall*, to go down; *lie* to be down; *lay*, to make go down; *set*, *q. v. sit*." According to this formula *set* is a preterite of *sit*, and then presumably *rear*, *raise* preterites of *rise*, *drench* preterite of *drink*, etc.

The compiler fares no better in his comments on pronunciation. His remark that the second element of *blatherskite* has "shortened into the slang cheap *skate*" is a case in point, quite apart from the fact that it seems more likely that *skate*, 'the magpie,' is the older form. But the prize remark is probably the one on the pronunciation of *New York*, given as an *à propos* to the word *boot*. Says Dr. Shipley: "Pronunciation of *booty* suggests that though a pirate may confuse *booty* and *beauty*, not even the most insensitive soldier would mistake a *cutie* for a *cootie*—mispronunciation of *duty*, *New York*, and other such words is the result not of inability but of laziness or carelessness. The sound of the city may be influenced by the Yiddish *Nu?*—pronounced *noo*—meaning 'What of it?' or 'What next?' The former query indicates the state of mind that produces the mispronunciation."

There may be "great fun in reading the book," as Burton Rascoe says, and in a certain class of people the book may arouse interest in etymology, but it certainly should not be called "an authentic guide to the better use, understanding, history and background of the English language."

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus, with an Introduction and Notes by HAROLD S. WILSON and an English Translation by CLARENCE A. FORBES. University of Nebraska Studies in the Humanities No. 4. Lincoln: 1945. Pp. vii + 149.

With the publication of Harvey's *Letter-Book* and his *Marginalia* it became possible to say that he 'is better known to us than almost any Elizabethan writer' (*Marg.*, p. 51); and now, with the republication and study of his *Ciceronianus*—to be followed, it is promised, by a similar edition of his *Rhetor*—we begin not only to know him well, but to respect him as a skilful and lively writer of Latin, and as a pioneer of some importance in educational theory in England. The present oration, introductory to a course given at Cambridge in 1576 on Cicero's *Post reditum in Senatu*, must be, from a European point of view, nearly the last in the succession of Renaissance diatribes, similarly entitled, for or against the exclusive imitation of Cicero. But, with the *Rhetor*, its real importance resides in being to all appearances the first public and enthusiastic propaganda for Ramist doctrine in England.

For Harvey as for Ramus, Cicero remains the best model of style, but what is 'Ciceronian' and 'best' may be found in other good writers besides Cicero. The idea can be formulated as a *petitio*, but practically it was not; and one may doubt if it is quite fair to charge Harvey with feeble reasoning on this score, and to leave it at that (p. 26). Similarly the merit of Ramus' simplified logicum-rhetoric was not merely that it was 'convenient in lightening the teacher's task' (p. 26); the teacher had now the heavier duty of trying really to understand Cicero and antiquity, and was not to be content with expounding phrases and figures (Text, pp. 88, 95). The revolt against Cicero and the revolt against Aristotle were in the interest of a broader humanist program; and yet, as Wilson rightly says, neither the Method of Ramus nor the course Harvey was about to give had any other final aim than Imitation. To remain within the scope of imitation; to question the authority of Cicero only to return to him as best; to turn from the Aristotelians only, as Ramus professed, in search of the true Aristotle may seem but a mild sort of revolution. The storm it raised in the sixteenth century betrays an all-pervasive fear—the fear expressed by Ascham that Ramistry, the questioning of 'Aristotle in Logicke and Tullie in Rhetoricke' would lead one 'either in Religion to have a dissenting head, or in the common wealth to have a factious hart.' Even after Ramus had become a Protestant martyr, it took a man of Harvey's bold and indeed indiscreet character to champion his views in academic circles. (Neither Ramus nor any one, by the way, could be 'King's Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence at the University of Paris,' p. 19).

The text is reproduced from the Huntington Library copy, save

that errors noted in the original errata-sheet and certain other misprints have been corrected. We must regret that the times forbade the editors to collate the other copies known to them. In Preface and Commentary (p. 129) they signalize what they call a mistake in the errata-sheet, and hence read (p. 80) with the original text: *Eant nunc polituli isti, qui Cisalpinos praeter Longolium omnes; qui cives quoque Romani usurpari volunt, ut nuper etiam, si dijs placet, Muretus, barbariae nescio cuius insimulant.* The errata-sheet calls for the singular: *civis . . . Romanus . . . voluit*; which can hardly be a 'mistake' arising 'from a corrector's hastily assuming that "Muretus" was the antecedent of "qui."' Surely the antecedent is meant to be 'Longolium'; and in fact the chief event of Longueil's career was his rhetorical defense of his Roman citizenship. The corrector clearly is Harvey himself.

The translation is smoothly executed and on the whole sound, but not unspotted. The sentence (p. 54), *Tullium vestrum cum alijs conferens . . . admirari illius coeperim, et suspicere ubique sui similem eloquentiam*, does not mean ' . . . to marvel at his eloquence and to admire its counterpart anywhere' [i. e. in other authors], but 'to marvel at and admire his everywhere consistent eloquence.' At the bottom of p. 57 the translation gives: 'I found . . . that, after spending last week reading Macrobius' . . . *Saturnalia* and doing no reading from the classical period (such reading was an impossibility while I was busy studying the *Saturnalia*), I was fired with so intense . . . a yearning for Marcus Tully that I decided I must return to him.' The sentence, oriented from the present, says rather: 'To speak for myself, after spending last week reading Macrobius' . . . *Saturnalia*, and having read nothing since then (nor could I when busy composing the present speech), I now find myself . . . so enamored of Tully that I think I must return to him.'—Ego vero, qui proxima superiore hebdomade Macrobij . . . *Dialogos* legebam, nec ex eo tempore quicquam legebam, (neque enim profecto potui, ista commentans) tanto iam . . . M. Tullij desiderio incensus teneor, ut ad eum . . . redeundum existimem.—Harvey keeps up his pretense (p. 36) of having written *Ciceronianus* 'within five days or so.' P. 58 (line 23), 'utinam non me Eloquentia desereret' is not accurately expressed in 'I hope that Eloquence will not desert me'; p. 84 (line 12), 'fuere autem cum alia nonnulla, tum ipsa in primis eloquentia' has a different emphasis from 'Eloquence has been one such thing, not to mention many others'; p. 94 (line 13), the phrase 'ex . . . commentarijs' depends on 'coagmentatum,' not on 'amplectuntur'; p. 99 (bottom), 'for the public weal' is not represented in the original.

In diction Harvey keeps within Ciceronian bounds; and the 'independence' discovered in the Introduction (p. 30), amounting to the single word 'rhetoricantem,' is nothing, since Harvey pur-

posely brings the word in as a joke. He does allow himself some freedom with diminutives, and here an Elizabethan playfulness breaks through his Latin; but the suggestion (p. 121) that he coined 'politularum' ('not in Harper [!] or DuCange') is doubtful, since this form (a favorite in both *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*) he probably read in Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 7. 33, whence Graevius expunged it in the next century. The note should be transferred to 'delicatum' on p. 66. In general the Commentary is full and to the point, and shows an enviable familiarity with sixteenth-century rhetoric. We might ask for a note, or at least a reference to Harvey's *Rhetor*, on *Natura*, *Ars*, and *Industria* (p. 56); and on Harvey's criticism of Ascham (p. 92) notice might have been taken of his reply to Hatcher (*Marg.*, p. 217), where he speaks as though Ascham had been omitted from *Ciceronianus*, presumably from the roll of Latin stylists. Indeed the omission (p. 80) is in its way as striking as the open criticism of the *Scholemaster*, and one wonders if Harvey's dealing with Ascham is as devoid of animus as Wilson thinks it is.

JAMES HUTTON

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Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition. By S. L. BETHELL. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1944. Pp. xiii + 209. \$3.00.

Mr. Bethell's title and his frontispiece of a model of an Elizabethan theatre imply that this book is concerned with a study of Shakespearean plays fitted into the carefully studied theatrical environment of the Elizabethan drama. Various remarks of Mr. Bethell also imply that the study is primarily one of Shakespeare in the theatre. Granville-Barker's *Prefaces* are half a dozen times referred to with respect. Theatrical knowledge is often held up as essential for the critic of Shakespeare.

Certain aspects of Shakespearean scholarship . . . reveal the evil effects of substituting an imitation scientific method for the mature common sense and knowledge of theater, which are the best check upon extravagant theory and the best guide to a balanced evaluation of evidence. (P. 170.)

The author seems to believe that his criticism is based upon a careful study of the Elizabethan theatre and that practical knowledge of the theatre serves as a constant check on his interpretation.

All this is highly misleading. Mr. Bethell really belongs to the school of G. Wilson Knight, whom he constantly quotes. Elizabethan plays scarcely enter into the study at all. Besides Shakespeare, there are only seven Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan plays

even mentioned in the book, and these are the ones most familiar to all armchair critics—*The Second Shepherds' Play*, *Everyman*, *Roister Doister*, *Doctor Faustus*, *The Spanish Tragedy*. The Elizabethan stage and the typically Elizabethan elements in Shakespeare's work are, for the most part, ignored. The occasional references to Elizabethan stage conditions are superficial and often scarcely relevant. Indeed, Mr. Bethell's attitude toward the purely dramatic aspects of the plays is best expressed in his statement,

Strip the poetry from a play of Shakespeare, and what is left but a rather haphazard story about a set of vaguely outlined and incredibly "stagey" characters? There is no originality of plot, little subtlety of psychological analysis, no immediately accessible propaganda. (Pp. 7-8.)

No doubt it is this conception of Shakespeare the poet compared with Shakespeare the playwright which leads Mr. Bethell into statements so revealing of his idea of a working dramatist in the theatre as the one on pages 170-71 concerning the suggested revision of *Twelfth Night*.

Shakespeare seems to me to be the sort of writer who would rather dash off a scene himself, than go to the bother of detailing its content to a hack; especially as he was a quick writer, hacks were slow, and hacks had to be paid. Nor can I persuade myself that Shakespeare would be bothered with revision; with his head full of *Macbeth* or *Antony and Cleopatra* he would hardly trouble himself to go back over *Twelfth Night* again: indeed, the *Twelfth Night* phase being past, return would be difficult, if not impossible.

The essence of Mr. Bethell's book is his idea of multiconsciousness. It is most directly stated at the end of his first chapter.

This is the core of my present thesis: that a popular audience, uncontaminated by abstract and tendentious dramatic theory, will attend to several diverse aspects of a situation, simultaneously yet without confusion. (P. 25.)

To sum up, I believe I am justified in asserting that there is a popular dramatic tradition, and that its dominant characteristic is the audience's ability to respond spontaneously and unconsciously on more than one plane of attention at the same time. I shall call this the principle of multiconsciousness. Already, with the aid of some recent critics, we have discovered traces of the operation of this principle in the plays of Shakespeare, and we have found the same principle to hold of the popular theater and motion picture of today. (P. 26.)

Multiconsciousness in audiences Mr. Bethell best illustrates from modern movies, especially those of Harold Lloyd and the Marx brothers in scenes when the actor steps out of his assumed role and addresses a remark to the audience in his own person. This flexibility of conventional response, he thinks, is characteristic of the audience of Shakespeare's time and accounts for many puzzling scenes in the plays. Unfortunately, the conduct of the modern movie audience is perhaps not our best clue to the reaction of the

audience at the Globe; moreover, many of the passages from Shakespeare cited as examples of an appeal to this multiconsciousness of the audience seem very far indeed from the sort of appeal illustrated by the best movie examples.

The organization of the book and much of the material introduced do little service to the author in the development of his idea of multiconsciousness. Mr. Bethell has an unfortunate tendency to set up straw men in the interest of his theory.

It has already been observed that the acting of female parts by boys was further complicated by the frequency with which the story demanded a male disguise. It is usually said that the boy would welcome relief for a time from the embarrassment of his unaccustomed garments and would probably act the better for being unencumbered. Since the investigation of Elizabethan theatrical conditions opened a new field of conjecture, "practical" explanations of this kind have been carried to excess. A boy would soon learn to manage his skirts without thinking of them: girls do, and the talent is unlikely to be inherited. (P. 38.)

He is frequently tempted into digressions by his disapproval of what he calls the "naturalism of the Ibsen-Pinero type" in the contemporary theatre.

Although Sidney and Jonson supported a system of arbitrary conventions more exclusive of naturalism than the unconscious and flexible tradition of popular drama, the true end of this neoclassical striving for completeness of dramatic illusion lies not in Racine, but in Ibsen, in Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie*, or, indeed, in the sophisticated naturalism of a modern Broadway "success." (P. 15.)

I do not suggest that *Rose Marie*, or its most recent equivalent, is as good as *As You Like It* and better than *A Doll's House*. I am not concerned with relative value at all—though if I were, I might hint at the superiority of the unsophisticated "gangster" or "Western" film to the theater of Mr. Priestley and Miss Sayers. Modern popular entertainment, however, differs from the Elizabethan in being more calculatedly commercialized; it is also depraved in values, superficial in ideas, false in sentiment, and insensitive to the quality of words. This is due in particular to the neo-classical—later naturalistic—influence in criticism and the theater, which gradually lured the best minds away from the popular tradition. (Pp. 19-20.)

Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition contains a few illuminating suggestions about difficult scenes or passages in the plays, but they are so buried in irrelevance and so disguised with naive pretensions to theatrical knowledge that they are likely to be underestimated or ignored. Mr. Bethell suffers from the want of a severe and sympathetic editor.

G. E. BENTLEY

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The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters. By JOHN W. DRAPER.
 Durham: Duke University Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 126.
 \$2.00.

It is one of the primary functions of scholarship to renew the significance of the literary masterpieces of the past through the recreation of the intellectual milieu in which they originated. Without this they can never mean so much to our own generation as they did to the public for which they were originally written. Professor Draper offers a contribution toward the reconstruction of Shakespeare's intellectual background. Without pretending to have exhausted the subject, he presents a study of the relationship between Shakespeare's characterizations and the psychology generally accepted in Renaissance England, the physiological psychology based upon the theory of the four humors. He is by no means the first modern scholar to labor in this field, yet he has a good deal to say which is new.

Professor Draper restores the meaning to many passages in Shakespeare's plays which have lost much of their original point: to Petruchio's storming at his servants for placing mustard and "over-roasted flesh," both choleric foods, before his already too choleric bride (p. 52); to Menenius' desire to "cure" Coriolanus' "disease," his choleric arrogance (p. 57); to Caesar's reference to Cassius' "lean and hungry look" (p. 47). More important, the writer has sketched the psychological pattern which Elizabethan audiences would have recognized in various characters; the melancholic villainy of Don John, the sanguine magnanimity of Orlando, the choleric irascibility of Hotspur, the balanced level-headedness of Horatio. For documentation he has used a rather large number and a rather wide variety of scientific and semi-scientific works which were available to Elizabethan Englishmen in their own language. He does not attempt to show that Shakespeare drew upon any specific work, assuming instead Shakespeare's acquaintanceship with "the general *corpus* of [psychological] doctrine" (p. 17), an assumption which few would deny.

There are many cases, however, in which Professor Draper's humoral character interpretation is highly questionable. He considers Gonzalo, for instance, an example of the perfectly balanced complexion (p. 87). Surely Shakespeare would not treat the temperament of the Golden Mean with the satiric disrespect that he shows toward Gonzalo. Caliban, according to Professor Draper, embodies some of the grosser and more sordid of the melancholic traits (pp. 79-80). Thus interpreted, Caliban becomes a more evil and bestial character than most of us actually find in *The Tempest*. It seems hardly reasonable to classify Angelo, "a man whose blood Is very snow-broth" (*M. for M.*, I, iv, 57-58), as a

sanguine (warm and moist) person (p. 25). Angelo's sudden and furious love for Isabella is evidence of the irresistible power of erotic passion, not of any natural warmth in Angelo's temperament. In spite of their obesity, it is very hard to believe that Shakespeare intended Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch as phlegmatic men (p. 31). Their keen wit and effervescent good spirits seem hardly in keeping with the sluggishness characteristic of the phlegmatic temperament. Antony also is hard to fit into the phlegmatic category (pp. 41-43, 111-12). He seems rather to be sanguine (blood is the humor of the voluptuary) with perhaps a touch of choler (the humor of the high-mettled and warlike). One could cite other instances.

It would be quite idle, of course, to insist that in Antony Shakespeare is presenting a sanguineous-choleric man. The point is that in humoral interpretation of characters great disagreement is possible, perhaps inevitable. Not many of Shakespeare's characters fit neatly into the humor categories. The Elizabethan playgoer, if he looked for a humoral pattern in each important character, might have found himself thoroughly confused. One suspects that the Elizabethan playgoer was not greatly inclined to look for such patterns, although undoubtedly he was interested when he saw them, and that he was not too much disturbed if the playwright ignored them altogether. One suspects that Shakespeare was much less concerned with them than Professor Draper assumes.

There is no question that the study of Renaissance medicine and psychology can do much toward illuminating Shakespeare's plays. Shakespeare's language is full of expressions borrowed from medical and psychological science, and these expressions need footnoting. The very frequency of such language in the works of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers indicates the degree to which scientific theory had penetrated Elizabethan thought. Many of Shakespeare's characterizations, moreover, show the influence of the physiological psychology. Dan John's villainy is due in part to his melancholy; Autolycus' continual light-heartedness is doubtless due to a sanguine humor; Hotspur's irascibility reveals a choleric complexion; the story of Timon of Athens is, as Professor Draper points out, a case history of melancholic degeneration of personality. Scholarship can reveal to the modern reader what the Elizabethans saw in these persons. Yet the commentator should not look too hard for scientific influences. If he does, he may, like Polonius, begin to see camels and whales in the clouds.

LAWRENCE BABB

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Fulke Greville, Poems and Dramas. Edited by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. New York: OUP, 1945. 2 vols. Pp. xi + 323, five plates; pp. 284, four plates. \$15.00. *A Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn by John Donne.* Edited by G. R. POTTER. Palo Alto: Stanford Press, 1946. Pp. vii + 71. \$2.00. *Sir Thomas Elyot, Of the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man.* Edited by E. J. HOWARD. Oxford, Ohio: Anchor Press, 1946. Pp. xxxii + 260. \$5.00. *Cupid and Psyche, by Shakerly Marmion. A critical edition with an account of Marmion's Life and Works.* Edited by ALICE NEARING. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. 202.

The first duty of all literary historians is to make the works of writers available to modern readers. The editing of texts is probably more important than the writing of books that settle a few minor problems about an author's life or the genesis of his work. But what is a good edition? It is, it seems to me, the presentation of a clear text with a cogent account of how the text was established. In addition to this it should have an adequate glossary, variant tables if they are required, a commentary that indicates the sources of the writer's quotations, and perhaps a biography that enables the reader to orient himself. Most editors attempt to go beyond these limits in that they supply essays on the author's ideas, intangible sources, etc. The latter additions are quite important in the case of major writers on whom scholars have worked for generations, but most modern editors are forced to limit their attention to minor writers, men on whom they alone are the world's authority. As a consequence, whenever they attempt to go beyond the minimum requirements of an editor, they get into difficulties.

Professor Bullough's edition of Greville is, I think, a case in point. An edition of Greville has long been needed, and Bullough's edition, which is based on an apparently careful scrutiny of texts and manuscripts, is just what we want. But Bullough attempts to go beyond the minimum requirements. He supplies us with little essays on Greville's influences and ideas that really get nowhere, because, along with his textual labors, Bullough had not time to investigate these matters thoroughly. There is, for example, a pleasant little essay on the influence of Seneca and Calvinism on Greville, which would be quite passable for a graduate student to present in a seminar, but is far too amateur to be part of a definitive edition. The essay on "A Treatie of Humane Learning" and the commentary on the poem are further examples. To supply a good commentary on this poem and to write a proper introduction to it would require a painstaking study of Mediaeval and Renaissance

epistemology, but Bullough has made no such attempt and hence his work will confuse rather than enlighten the reader. Scholars should be grateful to Bullough for supplying them with a complete and well-printed text of Greville, his other labors could well have been spared.

Professor Potter has had the good fortune of discovering in Harvard Nor. 4506 a better text of Donne's sermon on Ps. 38: 9 than the one known previously, the Dowden text which has been given to scholars by Merton in a facsimile (1921) or by Mrs. Simpson in the appendix to her study of Donne's prose. There is no question that Potter's find does much to enhance Donne's reputation as a preacher; I had always wondered how Donne had failed to do better on this occasion when he appeared before his old friends at Lincoln's Inn; now I can see that it was a copyist not Donne who was at fault. Potter's introduction to the sermon is completely pertinent and his notes illuminate obscure places in the text. Besides making a rare text available to us, Professor Howard's reprint of Elyot is a model of typography. The format is little short of a miracle because it gives one the impression of being a facsimile without being so. There are a short bibliographical introduction, textual notes, and an index; we are allowed to come to our own conclusions about all other matters. Elyot is certainly a more important figure in the history of English thought than is usually supposed; he is a norm for upperclass opinions of the early Tudor age. When Howard has succeeded in bringing out all of his writings, as he promises in his preface, we shall know more about the intellectual atmosphere of this era than we do now.

Mrs. Nearing's edition of *Marmion*'s long and very dull poem is just a doctoral dissertation, but even so it might well serve as a pattern to maturer editors. The poem has been printed before by Saintsbury, but Mrs. Nearing does not suffer from Saintsbury's faults of haste and sloppiness; hence she is able to clean up the textual tangles that enshroud this poem. The text is preceded with an excellent short biography, an essay on the text, a study of the sources and genre of the poem, and an historical account of the appearance of the legend in other poets. Her explanatory notes are almost too complete; I should not have glossed allusions to *Avernus*, *Phlegeton*, etc., but Mrs. Nearing is probably a better judge of the current ignorance of classical mythology than I am. My only regret is that Mrs. Nearing did not choose to edit a better poet, like *Carew* or *Waller*, but now that she has shown her competence, perhaps she will.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

A Check List of English Plays: 1641-1700. By GERTRUDE L. WOODWARD & JAMES G. McMANAWAY. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1945. Pp. 155.

Miss Woodward of the Newberry Library and Dr. McManaway of the Folger Shakespeare Library have, in the words of their preface, recorded "the plays and masques, with the variant editions and issues, printed in the English language in the British Isles or in other countries during the years 1641 to 1700 inclusive," and given "the location of copies in a number of American libraries." Editions and issues of Elizabethan and early Stuart as well as Commonwealth and Restoration plays are listed, and some of the more important Anglo-Latin plays are included as well. In spite of the difficulties imposed by the war years, when the cooperating libraries were understaffed and rare book collections sometimes removed for safe-keeping, the work has been done with thoroughness and care, and an extremely useful volume has been produced.

Like all check lists and library catalogues, the present volume preserves certain quaint attributions of authorship, as when it places *Lady Alimony* (certainly written shortly before its publication in 1659) under the names of Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, but it is inevitable that bibliographers should defer somewhat to the eccentricities of earlier bibliographers. Card catalogues usually list, as do Woodward and McManaway, *The Traylor*, 1692, under the mysterious name of Antony Rivers instead of under that of James Shirley where it truly belongs; no doubt the compilers were more anxious to aid the reader in locating the books than in establishing matters of authorship. There is a good deal of helpful cross-indexing in the list. In noting variant editions and issues, the list often supplements and corrects existing knowledge and should prove indispensable to collectors and librarians, but its more notable service is to readers and literary historians. Unlike Elizabethan plays, practically all of which are available in modern editions and may be read in any good university library, the majority of Commonwealth and Restoration plays must be read, if read at all, in those centers which possess the relatively scarce early editions. The student's first task, after he turns from the major dramatists, is to locate the texts. Woodward and McManaway provide the information that all but a dozen or so of the 1340 items published between 1641 and 1700 are available in the sixteen American libraries which checked the list. Anyone intent upon reading all of Commonwealth and Restoration dramatic literature could make an excellent beginning in Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago before proceeding to Washington, D. C., or San Marino, California, where he could practically complete his task. On what proportion of this material is worth reading we need not commit ourselves, but the student will find reward-

ing bypaths and will feel grateful for the scholarly guidance of the Newberry check list.

ALFRED HARBAGE

University of Pennsylvania

Walt Whitman Handbook. By GAY WILSON ALLEN. Chicago: Packard and Company, 1946. Pp. xviii + 560. \$3.00.

Undaunted by the magnitude of the Whitman corpus, Professor Allen attempts "not only to summarize the vast scholarship in the field but also to select and evaluate the significant contributions." Furthermore, realizing that all phases of Whitman's thought and art have not been sufficiently investigated, as, for instance, sources and influences, Professor Allen also attempts "to fill in some of the gaps . . . in order to give a well-rounded account of the poet and his work." Although he has produced a volume indispensable to the research student, it is not yet entirely satisfactory as a general *Handbook*. However, with comparatively few improvements, this purpose may be fulfilled.

In the first chapter, all of the major biographies from Burroughs to Canby are summarized and analyzed. Proper tribute is paid to the work of Perry and Binns, but, for Professor Allen, the "prodigious researches of Holloway and the Freudian interpretations of Catel culminated in 1933 in the most extensive study of the editions and of Walt Whitman's place in world literature. . . . Frederik Schyberg's *Walt Whitman*." According to Professor Allen, "no one before Schyberg had examined all the editions to discover Whitman's biography in the *changes* and *growth* of the editions." It is difficult to understand how such a deductive biographical method can be the "culmination" of objective biographical research. The author's attitude toward biographers of Whitman is clearly expressed in the summary of this chapter where he states that "In the attempt to solve psychological mysteries, to understand the poet's sex pathology, to expose his sublimated search for companions, to establish literary sources, and the dozens of other curiosities of Whitman scholarship and biography—all too often these searchers have neglected the importance of Whitman's message and his indisputable world-wide influence." One wonders whether the author is confusing biography and criticism.

The volume is most useful in the second chapter where Professor Allen, having thoroughly mastered Whitman, details and discusses the contents of each of the nine major editions of *Leaves of Grass*. With constant emphasis upon Whitman's shifting poetic intentions, he provides the reader with a panorama of the growth of the poems.

The succeeding chapters comprise short summaries of pertinent

philosophic concepts—mysticism, pantheism, personalism, etc.—as well as a survey of Whitman's social ideas from 1841 to 1888. Although the survey is satisfactory, some confused thought appears in the passages on philosophy. To cite one example: "One of the poet's key-words is *identity*. Notice in the above quotation that it is associated with 'nebulous float,' 'cohering,' and 'preparation,' all words suggesting cosmic evolution." Furthermore, fifteen pages are devoted to the "Chain of Being" although it is admitted that Whitman "may have been unaware of the resemblances between his assumptions and those once associated with the Chain metaphor." But the influence of Rousseau is not discussed because "it is not an influence which can be weighed objectively."

After an excellent résumé of the available material on Whitman's literary technique, the concluding discussion of Whitman and world literature is rather disappointing. As Professor Allen admits, "Even to outline the complete story of Whitman's reception and influence as a World Poet is obviously a task too great for the confines of this chapter." Thus, following discussions of Whitman in England, France, and Germany, there is a "rapid survey of Whitman's reception in some of these other countries. . . ." Such cursory treatment is regrettable.

The book is carefully annotated and misprints are few. For those who wish to correct copies, the following errors are recorded: Brooklyn Art Museum should be Brooklyn Art Union (p. xiii); 114 should be 14 in footnote 111 (p. 173); 118 should be 18 in footnote 141 (p. 192); *War Memoranda* should be *Memoranda During the War* (p. 220); 1889 should be 1879 (p. 221); the backstrip of the 1856 edition is correctly described on p. 127 but incorrectly described on p. 227; the principle of conservation of energy is the first, not the second, law of thermodynamics (p. 261); (1860) should be (1868) (p. 477). There is no adequate treatment of Whitman's early poetry and it is strange to find a *Whitman Handbook* which does not refer to the files of *The Conservator*. A list of the important Whitman collections in public institutions would have also been helpful. It is to be hoped that the second edition will possess more objective data and less critical theory. Of such is the nature of handbooks.

ROLLO G. SILVER

Brockton, Mass.

Walt Whitman: The Trent Collection. Compiled by ELLEN FRANCES FREY. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Library, 1945. Pp. 148.

The publication of this descriptive catalogue of Whitman material in Duke University Library constitutes a high-water mark in Whitman bibliography and scholarship. The amount of this authentic

material still unpublished has not been generally realized. Much of it comes from the collection of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke. Since he had first choice of Whitman's literary effects, he naturally secured desirable items. Mrs. Anne Montgomerie Traubel, who was present at the division, writes to me: "The material, which came to the literary executors under Whitman's will, was divided among them. . . . The procedure was that each lot should be assigned to each man in rotation by seniority—Bucke, Harned, Traubel."

When I examined the Bucke collection entire before it was sold, I found it more complete and illuminating than the Whitmaniana given to the Library of Congress by Thomas B. Harned, or the portions of the Whitman material belonging to Horace Traubel that I have been allowed to see. H. L. Mencken said that it was a national asset and that he would help me to publicize the importance of purchasing it, by private donations, for the Library of Congress. None of the newspapers or periodicals to which I appealed at that time saw fit to endorse this plan. Thus Walt Whitman's own prophetic words about his manuscripts, "a vast batch left to oblivion," narrowly escaped fulfillment.

Bucke had planned to donate his entire Whitman collection to the Boston Public Library. As he died suddenly by accident, with no specific provision for its disposition, this intention was never carried out. But since a major portion of it has now been reassembled in the Trent Collection, it may be available eventually for the use of Whitman lovers and scholars, as Bucke wished it to be.

Among the unique items must be mentioned Whitman's voluminous holograph manuscripts, including versions of both published and unpublished prose and poems, as well as autobiographical notes. Letters by Whitman and members of his family, and intimate friends, supply a rich *cache* of biographical material. The poet's reading can be traced in detail through numerous clippings with his annotations, and through extensive manuscript records of his study of literature in all forms.

There are valuable sources for research besides the wealth of manuscripts from the Bucke collection. The number of books, pamphlets, and articles by and about Whitman runs into the hundreds. The Table of Contents, divided into twelve sections, includes Manuscripts, Clippings, Proof Copies, Editions of Whitman, Books and Periodicals, Poems Set to Music, Bibliographies and Catalogues, Portraits, and Miscellaneous Items.

Special praise is due not only to Miss Frey, but to others who assisted in the admirable editing of this volume, particularly to Clarence Gohdes, Rollo G. Silver, and Alfred F. Goldsmith. "Vivas" to Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent, the American-spirited benefactors who made this publication possible. May many other magnanimous spirits follow the trail that they have blazed!

CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS

New England Conservatory of Music

Essays on the Eighteenth Century. Presented to DAVID NICHOL SMITH in honour of his seventieth birthday. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1945. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.] Pp. viii + 288. \$6.50.

This volume was, as the writers of its Preface say, "planned and prepared in bad times." The fact is not positively evident. Paper, printing, and binding conform, not to the "authorized economy standards" of the war years, but, happily, to the impeccable Oxford level with which readers have long been familiar. And the essays presented to Professor Nichol Smith, if they are not all impeccable, are nevertheless written with serenity and ease, occasionally with spirit and wit, and generally with accomplished scholarship. Their writers betray nothing of the strain, anxiety, hardship, and danger which must have permeated the war-time life of more than two-thirds of them. It could almost be suspected that some of them had been magically transported, for purposes of composition, to the century of which they write (see Mr. R. W. Chapman's footnote on p. 153).

Still, the "bad times" have had their innings. The writers of the Preface particularly regret the absence of contributors from the British Dominions and from France. The publishers state, on the dust jacket, that "the book was planned to give a comprehensive survey of eighteenth-century literature," and also to throw light on "the tastes of the eighteenth-century reader and connoisseur of the arts." Judged from such an aim, the volume must be set down a failure. It contains, for example, no essay on Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, Smollett, Gibbon, Burke, or Walpole; and it apparently would have had none on Gray if Professor Garrod's first contribution had not been lost. All of the above writers do come in for incidental mention: Defoe is mentioned twice—and so is Demosthenes! But Bishop Butler, Mandeville, Hartley, Hume, Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Gilbert White, Ann Radcliffe, and many another who should have appeared in any comprehensive survey are not even mentioned—not once. And though Mr. C. H. Collins Baker has a learned, informing, and delightful essay on painters and their critics, the book contains no treatment of eighteenth-century architecture, garden art, interior decoration, or music. Other essays besides Mr. Collins Baker's suggest that a comprehensive plan may indeed have been formed; but the editors appear in the end to have taken what, in "bad times," they could get.

We may be grateful for their measure of success. Their tribute cannot rival, in solidity and significance, the *Seventeenth Century Studies* presented to Sir Herbert Grierson in 1938; but, though some pieces in the present volume are trivial and slight, or too evidently written on urgent call, the book does have, in spots, scholarly value or critical distinction, and deserves a cordial welcome from others,

besides Professor Nichol Smith, whose favourite century is the eighteenth.

The volume opens with a portrait of Professor Nichol Smith, admirably drawn by Sir Muirhead Bone; and closes with a list of his writings which includes a number of unsigned pieces identified by the compiler, Professor F. P. Wilson. Between these two notable contributions there are, in addition to a brief Preface containing a graceful and just characterization of Professor Nichol Smith and of his work at Oxford, eighteen essays or notes by fifteen Englishmen (two of them—Mr. Collins Baker and President Herbert Davis—domiciled in the United States), and three Americans—Professors Sherburn, J. L. Clifford, and Pottle. Mr. C. S. Lewis comes first with a vigorous yet very moderate defence of Addison, for which there could have been nothing but praise had he not chosen to ventilate anew a long-standing prejudice against Humanism (see *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 1933, pp. 126-7), which leads him into an unconvincing depreciation of Pope and Swift for Addison's benefit. He is followed by President Davis, who discusses Swift's conciseness; by Mr. Harold Williams, who competently examines Deane Swift's editorial treatment of *The Journal to Stella*, and comes to a favourable conclusion; by Professor Sherburn, who contributes a substantial study of "Pope at Work," based largely on surviving manuscripts now in the Pierpont Morgan and Houghton Libraries; and by Mr. John Butt, who writes discriminatingly and soundly on "The Inspiration of Pope's Poetry." It is not possible here to speak of all the remaining essays; but Professor James Sutherland's "Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Prose," Professor Renwick's "Notes on Some Lesser Poets of the Eighteenth Century," and Professor Pottle's "The Power of Memory in Boswell and Scott" cannot be passed by in silence. The first two, with Mr. Collins Baker's essay, show how interesting and illuminating the "comprehensive survey" could have been, had it been carried further;—and Professor Renwick's unpretentious essay, in addition, is the most thoughtful piece in the book. Professor Pottle's essay, finally, is remarkable not only for acuteness, but for the range of fruitful suggestion and comment into which he is led in his discussion of the interplay of memory and imagination.

The book contains one cancel (pp. 159-60) to awaken curiosity; one obvious misprint (p. 113, l. 19); and a mistake about Burke which leaps to meet the American eagle eye (p. 256, l. 8), and which strikes in the more forcibly because it comes in the midst of a patronizing and contentious essay, by Professor Geoffrey Tillotson, on "Matthew Arnold and Eighteenth-Century Poetry."

ROBERT SHAFER

University of Cincinnati

Os Lusíadas by LUÍS DE CAMOES, Edited with Preface, Introduction and Notes by J. D. M. FORD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 451. \$4.00.

Since its first appearance in 1572 the immortal epic of the Portuguese nation has had many editions and has been put into English verse several times by various admirers of Camões. However, Professor Ford is the first to bring out an edition with Portuguese text and English notes.

A most scholarly presentation of the *Lusiads* for the English readers was that of Richard F. Burton whose verse translation appeared in 1880.¹ This edition was accompanied by a biography of the poet and copious notes on the text. While cognizant of the worth of Burton's effort, Professor Ford was also aware of his shortcomings as a versifier, so that in 1940 he had the more acceptable seventeenth century translation of Sir Richard Fanshawe reprinted by the Harvard University Press. With the growth of interest in the teaching of Portuguese in America during the war years, the publication of a school text edition of *Os Lusíadas* was an obvious need.

There are, of course, such editions designed for Portuguese speaking students. Perhaps the best of these is that of Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos published in Lisbon in 1931.² This has copious notes but is not too suitable for use in the American classroom. Obviously, each successive editor has the advantage of standing on the shoulders of his predecessors, and Professor Ford would be the last to disavow his debt both to Burton and to Dona Carolina. Nevertheless, close comparison of the three texts will reveal that the Ford edition is much more extensively annotated than any previous one. The author has drawn upon his own knowledge of Greek mythology to clarify many of the poet's classical references. Also he is no stranger to the history of the Portuguese in India, having published in 1936 a hitherto unedited eyewitness account of the siege of Diu in 1550.³ A further advantage of the Ford edition is found in the many linguistic explanations for which the editor has dipped into his wide knowledge of Hispanic phonology and morphology.

To increase the resemblance of his epic to the *Aeneid* Camões

¹ Burton's two volume translation of the *Lusiads* was published by Bernard Quaritch in London in 1880. In 1881 the same publisher brought out Burton's *Camões: His Life and his Lusíads, A Commentary*. This was also a two volume work containing a biography and copious notes on the various cantos of the epic.

² *Os Lusíadas de Luís de Camões*, Edição Nacional, Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1931.

³ Leonardo Nunes: *Crônica de dom João de Castro*, Edited with an Introduction by J. D. M. Ford. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1936.

has ornamented and embellished his narrative with many references to the gods of Mt. Olympus. Indeed they even play a direct part in the story for while Bacchus seeks to bring disaster on the expedition, Venus and her nymphs are ever on hand to see that his machinations do not succeed. All this accompanying phantasmagoria comes alive under the able annotation of the Ford edition. Furthermore, Camões was not content merely to sing the exploits of Vasco da Gama. The epic relates the history of all the Portuguese kings to date, as well as recounting the exploits of many explorers and conquerors who come after da Gama. All of the many obscure historical and geographical references involved in the vast sweep of Camões' poem are ably clarified by the editor and the reader is thus enabled to get his head out of the trees and behold the forest. Thanks to Professor Ford, the American student will now be able to appreciate fully the genius of Luis de Camões, author of one of the few successful latter day epics.

DONALD F. BROWN

Johns Hopkins University

Chansons de Geste. By CHANOINE ARTHUR SIDELEAU. Collection Humanitas. Montreal: Les Éditions Lumen. 1945. Pp. 312. \$2.00.

This collection of extracts from fourteen different *chansons de geste*, accompanied by prose translations into modern French, is not designed for scholars but rather for cultivated amateurs who may wish to gain some idea of the ancient epics without devoting too much time to their archaic language. The extracts are arranged in three groups according to the old classification—*gestes du roi*, *de Garin de Monglane*, *de Doon de Mayence*—and within each group the translations appear in their biographical sequence instead of in the order of their composition. Thus, for example, in the five passages from the *geste du roi* excerpts from Adenet's late *Berthe au grand pied* (hardly an epic at all), from *Aspremont*, and from the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* precede those from the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Couronnement de Louis* (arbitrarily included in this *geste* instead of in that of *Garin de Monglane*). The volume also contains a short general introduction and some slight prefatory notes before each of the selections.

The translations which aim to be literal occasionally violate the texts, but, more important, they are needlessly prosaic and seldom convey any notion of the varied poetic effects of the originals. Nor do the introduction and notes compensate for this deficiency by an adequate study of the differing literary qualities of the passages selected. Furthermore, by ignoring chronology of composition the

arrangement blurs the history of the development of the epic without offering anything of value in exchange since the individual extracts are too short to arouse interest in the legendary ancestors and descendants of the heroes.

Despite excellent intentions, therefore, the anthology achieves its purpose to only a limited extent. It gives a picture of the diversity of the old plots and a sense of how they were fashioned. Some of the passages manage to reveal their original beauty even in their dull, modern dress. But cultivated amateurs would probably receive a more accurate impression of the *chansons de geste* from a single sensitive translation like Bédier's version of the *Roland* than from all these short, unimaginatively rendered fragments of disparate texts.¹

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

The Dance of Death. . . . Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. xi + 32. \$1.50.

This facsimile of *The Dance of Death* makes available to a wider audience one of the many treasures in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, now an important part of the Library of Congress. It is a copy of the Latin edition of the *Dance* printed at Paris in 1490 by Guyot Marchand for the publisher, Geoffroi de Marnef. The learned and highly readable introduction by William M. Ivins, Jr., of the Metropolitan Museum, briefly reviews the printing and illustrating of incunabula and reminds us that this monument of book illustration is simply one of many expressions of an artistic theme common in the later Middle Ages. The twenty-four woodcut blocks, each of which fills approximately half of a quarto page, were copied skillfully from paintings done in 1424 on the walls of the

¹ A few observations among many must suffice. Modern scholars would hardly agree that the *chansons de geste* are "l'histoire avant les historiens" (10). *Berthe* is rightly characterized as a *roman d'aventure* rather than an *épopée* (then why include it as the opening selection?), but its literary form is disposed of by "le poème est composé alternativement de laisses masculines et féminines. Il y a là un effort remarquable pour renouveler la poésie épique" (17). "Berte gist adens" is not "Berthe git nue" (25). Scholars now date the *Pèlerinage* after 1130, possibly even after 1150, rather than "au début du 12^e siècle" (44). The point of Aimeri's boast is lost when "la verrez barbes traire" is mis-translated by "vous me verrez lui tirer la barbe," and *engolet* is not *doublé* (57). "N'ont guarnement que toz ne refflambeit" becomes a prosaic "les armures flamboient" (67; cf. Bédier's "pas une armure qui toute ne flamboie"); "sans nul mauvais art" becomes "bonne" (27); "estos" is "méchant" (217); "au gent cors henoré" is "charmante" (223), etc. Oliver's boast is of course omitted, but so are lines elsewhere (e.g. 219, 221), all without warning.

cemetery then to be found on the right bank of the Seine near the Cité; these murals soon became one of the major points of interest in fifteenth-century Paris. The series was accompanied by a text attributed to Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris. These French verses were first printed in 1485 and were followed by the Latin edition of 1490, now reproduced. One might reasonably assume that so exquisite a facsimile as this would be the product of one of the better private presses specializing in fine craftsmanship. It is all the more gratifying, then, to know that our Government Printing Office is sponsoring work of this type and making it available at so reasonable a price. Of particular interest to the student of fifteenth-century typography and illustration as well as of French and Medieval Latin, this handsome book is one which medievalists in general will enjoy owning. The only cause for regret is that the obvious plan of the volume precluded any attempt to deal with the many interesting features of the text itself.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

Louisiana State University

BRIEF MENTION

Prince Henry and English Literature. By ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1946. Pp. 187. \$3.00. The charm which Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, exercised upon those who knew him and the admiration he aroused in the English nation at large are well known. Unfortunately his connections with English literature seem to have been extremely slight, with the result that Mr. Wilson is not able to make out of the writings concerning him the interesting and significant book that he previously gave us on Queen Elizabeth. Indeed the author complains in his preface that he found his materials somewhat untractable.

Prince Henry's connections with literary men appear to have come about mostly in the way of friendship with the literary figures in the court circle—except for Raleigh, whom he was obliged to visit in prison: One does not gather that he had any influence upon their writings or even that he himself had any more than ordinary interest in literature as such. Fifty pages are devoted to the elegies (in Greek, Latin and English) written upon Henry's death. Very few of them are of any interest, as the author admits. However, they do provide a useful background to Milton's *Lycidas*, for it was to exactly such a memorial collection as these are that Milton's elegy was contributed and he must have been thoroughly

familiar with the type. In addition to the anthologies on Henry's death there appeared similar ones on the death of Queen Anne in 1619 and of King James in 1625, as well as others on Thomas Bodley, Sir Roland Cotton and such people.

It is not Mr. Wilson's fault that Prince Henry is a less fruitful subject than Queen Elizabeth, but we may wonder why he thought the job was worth doing. A much better field might be found in the elegies on Sir Philip Sidney, and it is to be hoped that we may have some day a volume on this subject. Practically none of Sidney's works had appeared before his death, yet the memorial poems have a number of interesting references to them.

LEICESTER BRADNER

Brown University

Three American Travellers in England: James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams, Henry James. By ROBERT CHARLES LECLAIR. Philadelphia: Privately Printed. 1945. Pp. ix, 223. *Three American Travellers in England* begins with a cursory survey of the American man of letters as a visitor in the British Isles and then proceeds to cover the careers of Lowell, Adams, and James, so far as they concern the topic under discussion. The effect of their travels upon their intellectual outlook and upon their writings is also considered. All the available material has been covered by Dr. LeClair and his conclusions are carefully considered, but little in the work will be new to specialists. The dissertation is nevertheless a useful compendium, well organized and sensibly handled. A rather large number of misprints, however, mars its finish.

CLARENCE GOHDES

Duke University

Moreana, 1478-1945. A preliminary check list of material by and about Saint Thomas More. Edited and compiled by FRANK SULLIVAN and MAJIE PADBERG SULLIVAN. Kansas City, Mo.: Rockhurst College, 1946. Unpaged, multityped. A collection of several thousand titles made more useful by a subject index. Highly useful to the student of More, but likewise suggestive of the futility of writing anything more about the great Chancellor.

D. C. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

Ghismonda AGAIN. May I be allowed to make some observations on Prof. Charles E. Ward's review of my edition of *Ghismonda*? First, I would say that the effect of war conditions extends far beyond the quality of the paper on which it is printed. For example, the MS. was removed from the British Museum to a place of safety in 1940 and even now at the time of writing is inaccessible. It was therefore impossible to supply a specimen facsimile page. Again in a house disorganized by successive waves of evacuees my transcript of the MS. became displaced and was not found till the printing was completed. Only then was it possible to have the final check which had always been intended. This explains the unusually long list of errata which has troubled Prof. Ward. I could wish to have spared him the inconvenience, as I share his dislike of arithmetic.

With regard to methods of editing, Prof. Ward would probably agree that the best solution would be to reproduce the MS. in facsimile for the expert, with a printed text for the average cultured reader who would be grateful for editorial assistance. But in a world like ours such a solution remains a scholar's ideal, and one is driven to a compromise which does not satisfy every one. A case in point is "breeding *es*" which admittedly is puzzling. I can see that I should have done better to print "breeding's" and add an explanatory note. "Nature" is a misprint for "nature." I am glad that Prof. Ward has discovered no other "disquieting" oversight in the use of capitals.

As for the handwriting, at the time when the edition was prepared, I did not feel competent to decide between such eminent authorities as Dr. W. W. Greg and Dr. Robin Flower. Nor do I now, though I am inclined to think that the MS. is before 1650. All the more so, because I have come to attach less significance to the hypothetical reminiscence of Dryden in the reference to Indian sun-worship, since Dr. F. S. Boas (*American Scenes, Tudor to Georgian, in the English Literary Mirror*, 1944, p. 8) has pointed out an allusion in 1613 in Chapman's *Mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*. It is a pity, however, that Prof. Ward did not record that I had established beyond question that the play is later than 1620 and possibly after 1628. Similarly, I regret that he speaks of my discussing twelve versions "of the Boccaccio tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda in Italian and English dramatic treatments through the eighteenth century," when the period covered by the plays extends from 1499 to 1783 and includes one by Hans Sachs.

In conclusion, I would express the hope that the reader who can appreciate not only the importance of textual detail but also the qualities of an edition as a whole, will recognise in my book, despite its imperfections, a contribution of some value to the history of English and continental drama.

HERBERT G. WRIGHT

JOSEPHSON'S ZOLA. In a brief note on "Zola's 'Bête humaine'" (*MLN*, LXI, 6, pp. 431-32), Mr. C. W. E. Dahlstrom calls attention to one blunder in Matthew Josephson's *Zola and His Time* (New York, Macaulay, 1928). As a matter of fact, the book is full of "howlers" of every description—misspellings of common French words (especially where accent marks are concerned), incorrect bibliographical data, literal transference of French idioms and cognates into English ("I have my back full of it," "plan" for "plane," "touch" for "cash," etc., etc.). Inexcusable mistakes occur when facts of French literary history are set down, as in references to the villa at Berne (sic!) where Voltaire spent his last years (p. 398), to the Goncourts' *Madame Gervaisaise* (p. 136), Daudet's *les Immortels* (p. 344), and Loti's *Pêcheurs d'Islande* (p. 356), to Georges Porto-Riches (p. 355), etc., etc. (sic! sic!). We are told (p. 306) that Anatole France was born in the valley of the Beauce (it has generally been supposed that he was born on the Quai Malaquais in Paris), and (p. 124) that "the seed of Parnassian poetry was sown" in gatherings at the home of Paul Meurice in 1868 (i. e., two years after the publication of the first *Parnasse contemporain*, with which, as with its companion volumes of 1869 and 1876, Meurice had nothing whatsoever to do). Almost equally numerous are the errors committed in the discussions of the novels of Zola. Two may here be added to the misinterpretation noted by Mr. Dahlstrom. In speaking of *la Conquête de Plassans*, Josephson refers (p. 211) to Octave Mouret as the principal character of the novel; in reality, it is his father, François, who plays this role, while Octave is the central figure of *Pot-Bouille*. On the very next page, we learn that, in *la Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, the death of Albine is announced to the priest as his sister cries out: "Serge! Serge! The cow has just given birth to a calf!" As a matter of fact, the sister's exclamation occurs while the priest is reading the funeral service for Albine. I have referred to Josephson's clumsy Gallicisms. I can not refrain from ending this animadversion with the quotation of two of his gems of English style. On page 87 we read: "What of the ferment over the novel that was going on in the republic of letters, Théophile Gautier declared suddenly that he wished he had been born a few years earlier." And on page 519, J. rises to the sublime heights of M. Perrichon: "But all the hearts of those present were torn at the thought of this premeditated assassination, surrounded by his family, his children!" Surely, here is a book to be scrupulously avoided by scholars and laymen alike.

AARON SCHAFFER

The University of Texas

Erratum. LXI, 514, for *University of North Carolina* read *Princeton University*.

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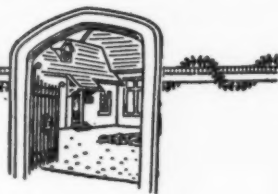
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EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, VARIANT TABLES, AND A
COMMENTARY

BY

DON CAMERON ALLEN

Professor of English Literature, The Johns Hopkins University

Though the honor of writing the first English essays is usually accorded to Francis Bacon, it is only by a stretch of the imagination, and the evidence of the subsequent editions, that this title can be conferred on the loose collections of jottings that are *The Essayes* of 1597. In 1600-01, Sir William Cornwallis the Younger published over fifty essays that are clearly the true beginning of this form in England; and since Cornwallis acknowledged Montaigne as his master, one can see that he was a much more conscious essayist than was Bacon.

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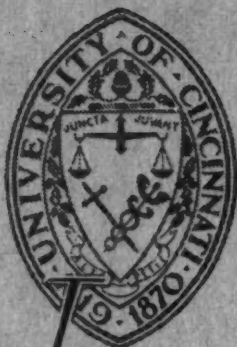
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